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The Constitution Debate

THE WAYS AHEAD

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JUNE 11 1990 \$3.00 NO. 24

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COVER PHOTO BY MICHEL COMARIE

COVER

THE WAYS AHEAD

It came down to a final act of political brinkmanship as the premiers met with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in Ottawa to decide the fate of the Meech Lake accord. But, in an increasingly unbridled mood, Canadians were starting to ask two scorching questions: How had the constitutional impasse been allowed to reach crisis point? And would the country ever be the same again? — 19



WORLD

TOWARDS A NEW ERA

During a Washington summit, presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush reached the most sweeping U.S.-Soviet understanding in decades, including an agreement in principle for an arms limitation treaty and a trade pact—measures calculated to help Gorbachev face opposition at home.— 38



CANADA

A HOUSE DIVIDED

The Tories' long-awaited abortion bill was approved by a slim majority in the House of Commons. But activists on both sides of the debate—seeking less or stricter government intervention—said that they would press the Senate to reject the bill and pledged to challenge it vigorously in court. — 16



Cover story does not represent entire issue.



Examining The Record

David Rockefeller is a regular visitor to Canada and an avid supporter of research on the key issues of the hemisphere through his American Society in New York City. But during a recent visit to Toronto, the venerable Maclean's editor last week in Toronto, the venerable banker and family patriarch, whose 75th birthday is on June 12, conceded that, until a few weeks ago, he did not realize that Canada was in the midst of a constitutional confrontation. The editors informed Rockefeller, the retired CEO of the Chase Manhattan Bank, that he was in good company: Canadians have only lately awakened to the worst crisis of national confidence since the 1976 election of a separatist government in Quebec. The country had reached that position, unexpectedly, without quite realizing it.

Almost as remarkable as the unpreparedness was the fact that the Meech Lake accord and the attendant debate were accompanied by massive coverage: radio and television specials, features in newspapers, and special sections in magazines (including a Maclean's round table in the March 20, 1989, issue and four cover stories in the past three months, in addition to almost weekly news articles). Did the media collectively fail to effectively deliver a vital message? Or did Canadians and others conclude that the issue was not as serious as politicians and opinion-makers claimed?

Answers to those questions will have to be left to politicians, academics and other specialists. For now, what-

over the outcome of this week's federal-provincial talks on the issue, the implications will be profound and lasting. To explore the origins, history and relevance of the debate, Maclean's asked Mary Janssen to go to the roots of constitutional struggles and trace their developments to the present time. Assisted by Chief Librarian Basil Gaudin, who provided research and other assistance, Janssen provides a balanced, lucid account of a problem that has been with Canada from its beginnings.

As well, recently appointed Ottawa Bureau Chief Anthony Wilson-Smith, working with colleagues Bruce Wallace, Barry Crane, Paul Kiehl and others, examined the behind-the-scenes maneuvering for the fateful June 3 meeting in Ottawa. He also reported on Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa's private plans for a new definition of Quebec's role in Canada, regardless of the fate of the Meech talks. Researchers Jean MacGillivray and Brian Belliveau provided background material and checked the facts of the stories.

Although Wilson-Smith took up his new duties in the very week that Environment Minister Lucien Bouchard resigned from Brian Mulroney's cabinet over the dispute, he is no stranger to political turbulence. He covered the 1989 referendum that followed the election of the Parti Québécois and was Maclean's Quebec Editor between 1983 and 1984. His past assignment was as Bureau Chief in Moscow, covering the not-so-quiet revolution of Mikhail Gorbachev.

Kevin Wingle



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LETTERS

KUDOS FOR STOMPIN' TOM

The ABCs of our musical tastes range from Alvin to Bach, the Beatles and B. B. King, but the C stands for Corcoran, Stomp! Tom ("A schol's return," *Music*, May 14) I clearly remember my outrage in 1973 when the *Canadian* media gave extensive coverage to the marriage of Tony Tim, an American vocalist of small talent, and essentially ignored Tom and Lena's wedding, which occurred the same week. Thank you for finally, after belatedly, recognizing this talented and committed Canadian.

Peggy Nixon Guelbin,
Ottawa

'HERBIE-JERBIES' OVER CROW

It is increasingly clear that economics is a preoccupation at best and a peculiar brand of occultism at worst ("The governor's gambit," *Cover*, May 7). John Crow may be perfectly honest and sincere in his belief that what he does makes sense. Unfortunately, sincerity is no test of truth. What gives me the heebie-jeebies is the thought that banks, businesses and governments take economists seriously and follow their advice.

Wolfgang Kreckmer,
Bridle River, Ont.

Everyone remembers the double-digit inflation, draconian interest rates and severe economic downturn of the early 1980s. Crow simply has the guts to do the unpopular thing now so that tentatively passed conditions and corrective actions will not have to be experienced later.

Tom Roberts,
Sarnia, Ont.

UNMASKING THE 'PAT CATS'

As the Peripherals, now you have done it. "Hiding behind a very thin screen," *Column*, May 24). By revealing the outrageous salaries paid to the top executives of major news outlets and the cut-throat maneuvering to avoid something as simple as a newspaper's do not read being made fools of. Well, I do not like it one damn bit. The Canadian media only eventually ran up—yes, even in steel and other Canada—against Keynesian-like self-indulgence.

Robert Finner,
Spring Grove, Alta.

Well, Dr. Rich has done it again. He reports an error which he reports that only top five news "rings get" miss that averaged 100 errors last year. The figures include entrance, individual inoperative payments, based on an approved



Crowder: 'A committed Canadian'

program to provide a measure of compensation parity for Crow corporation executives. Fitzpatrick perpetuates the myth that it is being run at the taxpayer's expense. The money is going the other way. What we make our

1989 dividend payment, or will have retained profits totaling \$334 million to the government over the past 19 years. Although they ran Canada's 300-largest corporation in terms of revenues, CFI's management is paid far less than comparable executives in business.

Ronald E. Lavelle,
President and Chief Executive Officer,
Canadian National,
Montreal

THE WHIP BUTTS OUT, TOO

In "Butting out on the Hill" (*Opening Notes*, April 16), you reported that Greg Thompson had admitted me as one of those who had violated the smoking ban in the House of Commons. For the record, I have not broken the smoking regulations. My responsibilities do not extend to policing smoking practices. Your article gives the impression that those responsible for enforcing the regulations were violating first, thereby condoning others to do the same. This is simply not the case.

Jim Nabors,
Chief Government Whip,
Ottawa

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should submit news articles and telephone numbers. Most companies direct to letters in the Editor's mailbox. Address: Reader Dept., 1777 Ave. St. Thomas, Ont. N5P 1A7.

PASSAGES

DRUG: British actor Reginald Carey (Rex) Harrison, 52, whose 40-year career culled on Broadway three weeks before he succumbed to cancer of the pancreas in his New York City apartment. He was an Academy Award for the 1944 movie version of his most famous stage and screen role, Henry Higgins in the musical *My Fair Lady*, and was knighted last year by Queen Elizabeth II. Remembered as a wise, stylish Englishman, he was popularly known as "wee Rex." He married six times, the last in 1970 to Swiss-born actress Trish. Actor Noel Harrison is the child of his last marriage to Celia Thorne, playwright Carey Harrison was born in his second, to actress Lilla Brainerd.



SURGER: Robert Kesting, 56, last month died in St. Basil, Ontario, 50, for teaching his profession, which prohibits him from attempting to contact singer Anne Murray by personal mail. Judge Gerald Friedman, in the past five months, Kesting, a Brampton, Ont., who formerly—who has been accused with Murray for more than 10 years—has called her Toronto office 462 times. He has been imprisoned five times for various charges related to harassing the singer.

the Cambridge, Mass., school which was founded in 1839 and has 18,000 students.

RETURNING: Harvard University president Derek Bok, 60, after 20 years at the helm of one of the world's top universities, effective at the end of the 1989-1990 academic year. During his tenure, Bok oversaw the creation of a new liberal arts curriculum and a policy of equal access for women to

RETURNING: Veteran defenseman Barry Salming, 38, to play in Sweden after a 17-year NHL career. Along with legends, Salming joined the Toronto Maple Leafs in 1975, the first in a wave of Swedish hockey players to play in the NHL. Salming played for the Detroit Red Wings last season after 16 years with the Leafs.

RENEWING: Conductor Charles Dutoit, 55, his contract with the Montreal Symphony Orchestra for two more years, after widespread speculation that he would leave to conduct in Philadelphia or Paris. Under the French-born Dutoit, who joined the MSO in 1977, the orchestra has achieved international acclaim.

SOME DAY, THE INFORMATION ON THIS CARD



Over the years, Canon technology has affected our lives in many ways. From the fun of photography to the business of photocopying, Canon products enjoy a reputation for innovation and reliability second-to-none.

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THINKING BEYOND TODAY



There goes the neighbourhood.

Surely this isn't the place to test the Sedan de Ville's powerful 180 hp V-8 engine. Or to prove that this luxury sedan leaps from 0-60 mph (96.5 km/h) in a remarkable 8.70 seconds. Or to emphasize that this Cadillac performs better than all other North American luxury sedans, including the Lincoln Continental and Town Car. Surprisingly even the Volvo 260G. You may, however, quietly appreciate the observation curtain editions of Motor Trend inside that the

Sedan de Ville speaks softly of authority and power—luxury that has not been diminished materially by the demands of the wind tunnel. After all, while we enjoy the concept of power and luxury, we must abide by the concept of being neighbourly.



SEDAN
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Every new Cadillac has a warranty for 3 years or 100,000 kilometers which includes complete vehicle coverage, a superb No Charge 24 Hour Program of the same services, and Corrosion Protection for 6 years or 100,000 kilometers. See your Cadillac dealer for full details. Cadillac Atlanta has an outstanding 5 year or 100,000 kilometer warranty. Acceleration and parking tests conducted by the United States Army DOD.

OPENING NOTES

Cookie Monster makes the big time, Lech Walesa meets the Marlboro Man, Mikhail Gorbachev's private reunion

A MISDIRECTED APPEAL

In his bid to unearth supporters for his Liberal leadership campaign, Paul Martin Jr. himself flew planes untended. On May 25, Martin's campaign office sent a letter to front-runner Jean Chrétien urging him to vote for his opponent. The two-page letter, which is written in French, begins: "Dear Jean, we are writing you today to urge you to support, as we do, Paul Martin's election to the leadership of Canada's Liberal party. We are well aware that you need as much information as possible to choose in an enlightened way the man or woman who will lead Canada in the 1990s. While we know that you already share



Martin: excessive optimism?

many of the same beliefs and preoccupations that make us all progressive Liberals, we would like to share with you our reasons for supporting Paul Martin's press secretary, Sonia Desjardins, explained the apparent excess of euphoria by saying that Chrétien's name was on a computerized list. Added Desjardins: "We needed them to be all the delegates, and he is a delegate." According to Senator McMillan, Chrétien's press secretary, the letter attracted considerable attention when Chrétien's secretary opened it at his Ottawa law office. Although Chrétien himself did not see the letter, McMillan said: "The whole office thought it was amusing. We thought it was rather amusing at Mr. Martin to court Mr. Chrétien's vote, but we're sure he'll understand we have other priorities." The power of persuasion lies in its limits.



Honoree (left) Cookie Monster: rising from the ashes of crushed dreams



CHUCK WATSON

THE MAKING OF A MUPPET MONSTER

John Rughardt, president of Toronto advertising agency Rughardt Wolcott Crandall, can take a bow for helping to discover one of North America's best-loved monsters. In 1968, as a young copywriter at Young & Rubicam in New York City, Rughardt was asked to design a TV campaign for Frano-Lay's Marshmallow Peasants Group. He instantly came up with a little-known puppet called Jim Henson, who created Arnold, a fiery blue creature with an insatiable craving for marshmallows.

The agency produced two commercials, but Rughardt recalled that when the client saw Arnold tearing up the set and "smashing marshmallows all over the place," he rejected the campaign because it lacked appetite appeal. Then, a year later, Henson, who died on May 16, began work on Sesame Street and resurrected the character Arnold with a new complexion and a new name—Cookie Monster. There is no accounting for some people's tastes.



CONSTANCE COOPER

Gammone's dispute over "sexist" degree

A mistress-in-waiting

Carmelo Gammone completed her studies at Concordia University in Montreal a year ago, but officials have not yet awarded her degree. The reason: 30-year-old Gammone, a specialist in Italian fascist poetry, attacked the university to declare her a "mistress" of arts instead of a scholar. "I was studying the value of language. 'Mistress' is ironic and ironic and does not reflect my work," Rose Shuman, Concordia's vice-rector, academic, and that at first she did not know what to do about Gammone's request. Eventually, the petition reached the university's graduate registry committee, which passed it up to the senate. That body set up a committee to study not only Gammone's case, but the whole issue of what it calls "degree expediency." Shuman said that if the campaign succeeds, it could open the way for similar requests. Although Gammone described her case as a "pretextual setting," her petition is firmly grounded in tradition. In 1941, the Concordia Ladies' Secretary in Geneva, Switzerland, a mistress of liberal arts, and in the United States, water and even sand of arts degrees have been awarded. So far, though, historians have not discovered a sponsor of arts.

A TALE OF TWO TOWERS

If the plans of a British development firm bear fruit, Toronto will find itself playing second fiddle to a small city about 15 km west of Birmingham, England. Donald and Roy Richardson, co-managers of Richardson Development Ltd. in Dunfermline 200,000, say that they will erect a commercial centre tower called Midway Hill, which, at 3,000 feet, will eclipse Toronto's CN Tower, currently the world's tallest freestanding structure, by 187 feet. The \$107-million project would complement a two-million-square-foot shopping centre that the Richardsons completed last year. Said Donald Richardson: "We want to put the crown on the map. It seems that, for the Richardson brothers, the sky is no limit."

Lech Walesa and Marlboro Man

For most North Americans, the symbol of Philip Morris Companies Inc. is the Marlboro, hairy-maned Marlboro Man. Now, with the tobacco industry in the United States under fire from anti-smoking groups, the New York City-based company appears to be trying to set itself apart from its pack-a-day image. To that end, it is launching a series of advertisements that promote freedom to generalize the U.S. bill of rights in particular. And the company is paying Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa an undisclosed amount (said to be one of the sponsors) for the \$70-million campaign to celebrate the bicentennial of the bill. The advertisements, which will appear in magazines and newspapers across the United States, quote Walesa in German: "I've read your bill of rights a hundred times and I'll probably read it a hundred more before I die."



Walesa: "Sometimes you have to struggle!"

Freedom may be the soul of humanity, but sometimes you have to struggle to prove it. Taggart Patrick, a columnist with Philip Morris, and that Walesa, a union, has promised to donate his "income" to charity. Freedom has its price.

DAINGEROUS LANGUAGE

One problem that American activists agree face under cover in Latin America is the local slang. Now, Francisco Moreno, a linguist at the Pen-tagon's Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center in Monterey, Calif., is developing a course in so-called Nereo-Spanish. Said Moreno: "It is very difficult to get into the drug slang and culture without being spotted as a spy." He added that if an agent in Colombia were to refer to the police as chochos, or grunts, genuine Colombians would recognize the slang expression as Mexican. Words to live by.

HATS OFF FOR AN OLD FRIEND

Mikhail Gorbachev made his first visit to North America in 1985 when he was the Soviet ambassador to Ottawa. He was greeted by then Prime Minister Mulroney and his wife, Elizabeth, went through the receiving line, Gorbachev's wife, Raisa, immediately exclaimed: "I know who these two are without an introduction. I have a special place in our home for the but you my friend." When Raisa told Mulroney's "Gorbachev was not waiting in his St. James's home in which the hat is."

Canada, the two former ministers met privately to talk over old times. At a luncheon for Gorbachev at Ottawa's National Gallery, where Mulroney and his wife, Elizabeth, went through the receiving line, Gorbachev's wife, Raisa, immediately exclaimed: "I know who these two are without an introduction. I have a special place in our home for the but you my friend." When Raisa told Mulroney's "Gorbachev was not waiting in his St. James's home in which the hat is."



Whether seeking an introduction

Most Americans think Canadians are Japanese.



When Maclean's and Decima Research asked Americans to identify their biggest trading partner, 66% said Japan. They were wrong.

Only 12% of Americans knew the right answer: Canada.

Those findings and many others appeared in the Maclean's special report "Portrait of Two Nations," an in-depth look at Canadian and American attitudes.

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In the June 25, 1990 issue of Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine, we will publish:

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Maclean's

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE.

COLUMN



The trouble with war-crimes trials

BY BARBARA AMIEL

The verdict is in. Noted restaurant and accused war criminal Irena Fata has been acquitted of charges of kidnapping, forcible confinement, robbery and manslaughter that arose out of events in Hungary in 1944. At the time, Fata, who now lives in Toronto, was a captain in the Royal Hungarian Gendarmes, the squad assigned to round up and segregate the deportees of Jews from the city of Budapest. Now that he has been acquitted, I wonder about all those Canadian schoolchildren who watched the trial as part of their history courses. How will their teachers explain the reaction of the Canadian Jewish community to the decision of 12 jurors: good and true? Will they be told the Jews made a mistake in calling Fata a forced Nazi? Somehow, I don't think so.

"It really makes an issue both in the justice system of Canada," said Helmut Sandisch, chairman of the Canadian Holocaust Remembrance Association, who heard the verdict. The Canadian Jewish Congress described itself as "dejected." Sol Lifshitz of the Canadian Jewish Archives, Wisconsin Centre, was "deeply disappointed" but "not deterred." Howard Rinkov, director of communications for Wiesenthal, worried that the verdict might encourage anti-Semitic groups.

What is one to make of this response? I suppose we must all get our teeth and remember that the people who made those sorts of mistakes have suffered previous personal losses at the hands of the Nazis. All the same, speaking as a Jew, I can't help feeling a profound sense of shame at such comments. Are those Jewish leaders not content yet? Visually single-handedly, they have created the awful situation we now face because the trial took place. Jews feel the acquittal is a personal slap in the face, while, at the same time, Canada's uneasy group of neo-Nazis are having a celebration. Tell me: who has gone? And who would have said that Fata had been convicted on flimsy evidence of charges that should never

It makes no sense, 46 years later, for Canada to try a policeman from another part of the world for doing his police duties

have been laid? Would that have given Sandisch "life" in the Canadian police system?

Irena Fata was charged as a criminal for performing his legal duties as a policeman in Hungary during the war. He was not charged with torture, murder or robbery for personal gain, nor for any other act that by common understanding is a criminal act whether performed by a policeman or a king. As for the manslaughter charges, they referred to people who were said to have died during the train journey to the concentration camp because of unwise conditions in the cattle cars into which Fata's gendarmes had loaded them. Those charges should never have been brought.

Let me say right away that there is no question that without people like Fata neither communism nor racism could have happened. Totalitarianism requires an infrastructure of people who obediently run the trains and act as policemen for the oppressors. But it makes no sense that 46 years later Canada should decide that a policeman acting under lawful authority in another part of the world should be charged as a criminal for performing his police duties. It is not a fair analogy to say that the RCMP in Canada, who rounded up the Japanese in the same war and took away their property and

goods, did precisely the same thing—although the consequences and conditions were a million times more heinous. Still, one cannot prosecute Fata and not prosecute all the other police officers without making a mockery of justice.

The point is that you cannot demand that someone be much better than the social milieu in which they live. Most people do accept the standards of their times, just as Fata did. Once upon a time, we understood that fundamental truth about the human condition. We understood that distances of geography and time produce different moral climates which make it distinctly easier—and easier—to judge from outside. The law in its wisdom was devised, not to have jurisdiction over crimes committed in far-flung geographical and moral spheres. We realized, for example, that it might be almost impossible in a Toronto courtroom 1990 to truly understand the small and trivial of customs in the Third Reich and to judge the mix of terror and the rational to survive under such a regime during war.

That does not mean, accidentally, that you may not prosecute people who have committed great and awful crimes simply because they were long ago and far away from us. I have no quarrel of principle in dragging a Josef Mengele, the notorious "Angel of Death" at Auschwitz, to court. His crimes supersede all degrees of time and place. In such a case, it is simply a question of whether the evidence is available. The problem with the Fata case is that it is neither a prosecutor's dream at all, the key elements in the charges simply cannot be produced. Where are the bodies of the manslaughter victims? Where is the property that was stolen? Who can be cross-examined? In order to convict a Fata, many of the basic principles we hold dear in our system of justice must be suspended.

That is what should be worrying. If we do, not the action that Fata's acquittal will encourage anti-Semitism. Those people who still do believe the awful Holocaust is the result of the Holocaust will never accept it. If Fata had been convicted, they would simply have seen him as a martyr to the Jewish cause. I'm sorry, of course, that neo-Nazis share my dislike of war-crimes trials, but I reserve the right to dislike such trials for my own social moral and legal reasons, quite different from those of the extremists on the right.

The only way to prevent another Holocaust or Third Reich is to judiciously guard and maintain the rule of law and never ever depart from certain fundamental principles. I, as a citizen, have paid the cost. Once society departs from those fundamentals—and it has with the war-crimes legislation—and introduces such changes as attractive legislation or means to judge one situation by the standards of another, then we create precisely the sort of environment in which the actions that lead to the camps of extermination and death camps. Throughout the centuries, the rule of law has kept mankind from slipping into total barbarism, and no single group has understood that more profoundly than we Jews. It is a terrible irony that some Jews should be the first to be advocating our single most important protection



Pro-choice demonstrators on Parliament Hill: the battle now shifts to the Senate and, if the bill passes, the courts

CANADA

A HOUSE DIVIDED

A COMPROMISE BILL ON ABORTION WINS APPROVAL, BUT OPPONENTS ON BOTH SIDES VOW TO KEEP FIGHTING

For the six New Democratic Party MPs still in the House of Commons, it was an irreversible opportunity. On the evening of May 24, during the closing hours of final debate on the Conservative government's abortion bill, they found themselves alone in the House. The lone Conservative watchdog over the government's interests at that hour, Quebec MP André Plourde, had left his seat. And, shortly before 10 o'clock, New Westminster-Burnaby MP Diane Blaikie took advantage of the unexpected chance to embarrass the Tories by introducing a motion under Commons rules to withdraw Bill C-43 (due to unanimous lack of support. "Mr. Speak-

er," said Blaikie on behalf of her five deluged colleagues. "I think you will find there is unanimous consent at the House tonight." But Plourde was watching the proceedings on a television set next door in the government lobby. He dashed back to his seat in time to save the bill by following "Mr. Speaker" as it "Agreed." Said Blaikie later: "We missed pulling off a major upset by just 30 seconds." Last week, five days after that incident, opponents of the legislation lost another battle when the Commons passed the bill.

But the choc 140-to-131 vote was a narrow victory for the government as 13 Tories, 72 Liberals and 42 New Democrats voted against

C-43. Now the legislation passes to an equally divided Senate. And it was clear last week that the battle over the bill is far from over. Monahan after a period in the House, sponsors a bill to allow the abortion debate—opening the door to a possible government intervention—said that they would press the Senate to reject the legislation, and challenge it at court if it passes the upper house. "We are not going to quit," said Karen MacQuinn of the anti-abortion Campaign Life Coalition.

Indeed, the passage of the bill has clearly won few advances on either side of the divisive debate. Under the legislation, both the woman who has an abortion and the doctor who performs it could face jail sentences of up to two years if neither is able to prove that the expecting mother's physical, mental or psychological health was endangered by continuation of the pregnancy. Repealing the old law, struck down by the Supreme Court on Jan. 28, 1986, because it violated a woman's constitutional right to security of the person, C-43 makes abortion available at any stage of pregnancy under those conditions. And Justice Minister Kim Campbell, 43, said that the legislation represents a workable compromise. Declined Campbell, "I am a pro-life woman of child-bearing age, and I can live comfortably with this legislation."

But there are clear indications that many Canadians cannot. During five separate outbreaks during the May 29 vote, officers forcibly removed a total of two dozen protesters from the public galleries of the House, one of them clanging his chair. Dozens of other demonstrators stood outside the site on the city's east end, and sat down in front of Parliament. Meanwhile, many of the 380 doctors who perform abortions in Canada have the moral conscience about the impact of the new legislation, citing the possibility of criminal charges or lawsuits by both their patients and abortion groups. In fact, even before the Commons vote, individuals in Winnipeg, Calgary and Halifax announced that they would request women requesting abortions to undergo psychiatric assessments or sign written statements about their health—or simply stop performing abortions to avoid the risk of criminal charges under the new law.

But Campbell told Maclean's last week that the justice department plans to launch an information campaign to reassure doctors that their concerns are unimportant. "My challenge now is to try to ensure that doctors and Canadian women understand what the law actually says and that it is a very, very respectful," said Campbell, a lawyer who advised Bill C-43 in her last major piece of legislation after being elevated to the justice portfolio in February's cabinet shuffle. Acknowledging that access to abortion under the new legisla-

tion is unlikely to improve. Maclean's that in Prince Edward Island no abortions have been performed in eight years, Campbell said. "People have to be the beneficiaries of government. I cannot make Prince Edward Island believe of abortion if that's not how they feel."

Meanwhile, if C-43 becomes law it is certain to be challenged in the courts. In fact, the bill's opponents have vowed to initiate legal proceedings against the upper equality of rights provisions of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Anti-abortion groups say that its broad definition of the pregnant woman's health does little to protect the unborn child and, in fact, makes abortion all but available on demand. And pro-life advocates claim that the legislation denies women the right to make choices concerning their reproductive health. "The carefully crafted middle ground does not cut with this issue," said Bruce Greenpan, president of the 400-member Canadian Lawyers Association, which opposes the legislation. "In the end, the debate could initiate legal proceedings."

But before Bill C-43 can become law it faces another major obstacle: passage by the Liberal-dominated Senate. Although the upper chamber was scheduled to begin debate on the bill this week, senators are due to begin their summer recess in mid-June.



Campbell, respectful law

And, said Senator Allen MacBain, Liberal House Leader, at the Senate when the body meets again in the fall, "we will start the bill as we treat other bills." Added MacBain, who said that he is undecided about the abortion legislation. "Clearly it won't be my effort to close it down or speed it up."

But in recent years, the Senate has in fact held up some controversial bills, most notably the new unemployment insurance legislation passed by the House last November. And there are already indications that Bill C-43 may be stalled before the Senate for some time.

For one thing, a Senate legal committee that is expected to begin public hearings on the bill this fall will face sharply conflicting demands to handle or refuse the legislation. Indeed, some senators themselves have already vowed to oppose the legislation. Ontario Liberal Senator Stanley Harkin, for one, an ardent anti-abortionist, said that he will try to have the Senate force the government to have the law for performing legal abortions increased to 25 years from two years and to limit abortions only to life-threatening situations. Said Harkin: "The bill will be bogged down by debate and may never see the light of day." Indeed, it is clear that the bill will continue to haunt the Tories—while doing little to quell the debate that it was intended to defuse.

E. KATE FULTON in Ottawa

National Notes

A 'NO' TO PROSTITUTES

The Supreme Court of Canada, in a 4-2 split decision, upheld a federal law banning prostitutes from soliciting business in public. The court ruled that the law is a possible violation of the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech in light of its goal of eliminating street prostitution.

AND 'YES' TO SPOT CHECKS

In a 5-4 split decision, the Supreme Court of Canada has ruled that random police checks of motorists are not a violation under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, because they are often "the only effective deterrent" against those who drive without a license or when drunk.

UP IN SMOKE

Known as Nova Scotia and a pulp mill agreement to destroy 38 tons of hazardous waste as estimated \$400 million, it was Nova Scotia's largest source of that tax. The Nova Scotia government will pay \$7.7 million in taxes on the pulp mill on Nova Scotia's southern shore, but made no money.

A CONVENTION ELECTION

The Ontario Supreme Court ruled the results of the November 1, 1986, federal election in the Toronto-area riding of York North. After three years of the closely contested fight, Conservative Michael O'Flaherty took the Commons seat he had been asked to Liberal Minister Brad Davis after the 1986 election. In January, 1986, O'Flaherty declared the election void, the court said, because by returning officers at polling stations.

BOY'S CONVICTION OVERTURNED

The Manitoba Court of Appeal ordered the conviction of a 13-year-old boy—whose identity is protected under the Young Offenders Act—for the murder of two Winnipeg women last summer. The boy, then 12, was found in the women's home shortly after the killing but he denied any involvement in the deaths. He remains in custody, charged with breaking and entering in the same incident.

FRASE FOR CANADA

After a brief stay in Canada, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, on a four-day visit to Canada, praised Canada's support for the United Nations, particularly its "constructive contribution to our peacekeeping efforts."

REWARDING ASSISTERS

The families of one of the 14 victims murdered by Marc Lévesque at the University of Montreal's engineering school on Dec. 6 asked the Quebec government to order a public inquiry into the massacre.

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THE CONSTITUTION/COVER

In Search Of A Nation's Heart



Perhaps the Fathers of Confederation erred when they cobbled together their spartan Constitution throughout the grey autumn of 1864. There are no resounding declarations of the rights of man. There are no spirited evocations of Justice and Liberty. There is no reference at all to two founding nations. The 36

Fathers, mostly lawyers and developers, had no interest in poetry: they simply wanted to set down prim rules to direct governments in their new Dominion of Canada. Almost 13 decades later, no schoolchildren recite their prose or pledge patriotic allegiance to their Constitution. Almost 13 decades later, their handiwork is dismissed as

irrelevant or, even worse, boring.

That is wrong. As Canada's First Ministers struggled this week to salvage the Meech Lake accord, they were only writing the latest chapter in the fascinating constitutional saga of the nation. A scan through the decades of constitutional conferences reveals drama and passion: there are dignified principles and scurrilous deals; there are zealous denunciations and ruined careers; there are un-



The Fathers: mostly lawyers and developers, with little interest in poetry

binding stands and pragmatic compromise; there are evolving political values and shifting powers.

Most important, there are constitutional events and constitutional phrases that touch the lives of every Canadian. Every word in a constitution is important. Every word can affect the shape of the government or the fabric of people's lives. The Supreme Court of Canada, for one, used the seemingly uncontroversial right to "security of the person" in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms to strike down Canada's former abortion law. The Constitution is not irrelevant. And it is surely not boring.

As Canadians once again agonize over the shape of the nation, it is instructive to recall the vast sweep of that nation's history. It explains why Canada is still locked in a seemingly endless constitutional debate—and why the governments are still fighting over apparently arcane phrases. The conflict is potent: for the English Fathers of Confederation, the descendants of the conquerors of Canada, Confederation meant the creation of a strong central government over four provinces; for the French Fathers of Confederation, the proud survivors of that conquest, Confederation meant the union of two founding nations.

For decades, those two sources of tension have influenced and worried the nation: all provinces war with the federal government for power; Quebec struggles to preserve its role as a founding nation, while the other provinces wear their frustration and sympathy. Those basic tensions are the reason that governments pay so much attention to constitutional debates. Every deal means more or less power, and more or less money, for the governments that make them. Every deal could affect the balance of power between Ottawa and the provinces, between French Canada and English Canada.

But if there is a consensus in Canada's constitutional crisis, there is also something very different about this spring's painful debate. The controversy of the current struggle, the Meech Lake accord, is designed to win Quebec's acceptance for the 1982 constitutional package that transferred Canada's Constitution from Britain with an amending formula and a charter of rights. Much like recognizes Quebec's distinct society, its long struggle to preserve its language and its culture, its role as a founding people.

But Canada has changed since the Fathers of Confederation drafted their codified legislative deed. The English majority has disappeared. English Canada is now anglophone Canada, the English-speaking descendants of many races and many cultures. All races, including native Canadians, now claim that they have a distinct identity. Quebec's vision of two founding nations is clashing with the rest of the country's, which sees itself as a single nation. That accord alone faces those two views. But then the constitutional history of Canada is the history of balancing opposing views.

European Conflicts Led To Early Tensions

The colonial history of Canada begins with the struggle between two empires, the British and the French. Throughout the 17th century, ruled by rules of fabulous wealth, both powers established colonies in North America. The French founded their first permanent European settlement, Port Royal, in Nova Scotia in 1605. Two years later, the English established their first settlement in Virginia. For the next 150 years, as traders and explorers and soldiers, the two sides jostled against each other. Wherever war was declared in Europe, hostilities descended in Canada. Whenever peace was contracted, colonies changed hands. In 1713, with the Treaty of Utrecht, for one, France surrendered Newfoundland and Acadia.

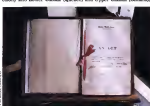
Despite that volatile atmosphere, the French retained almost uninterrupted possession of Quebec and the shores of the Great Lakes. In 1608, Samuel de Champlain, the founder of French Canada, began to build a trading post at Quebec City. Nearly 140

years later, there were 50,000 French colonists in New France and Louisiana—and they had nurtured a unique cultural identity, far different from that of the anglophone. As historian Donald Creighton, who died in 1978, once noted: "New France" "had certain institutions, certain patterns of action, certain natural values, which were adjusted to the new environment and which were to show enormous powers of endurance. Perhaps New France was too small to win victory. But she was big enough, and old enough, to survive defeat."

That challenge came with the Seven Years War. On Sept. 13, 1759, British Maj.-Gen. James Wolfe captured Quebec from the Marquis de Montcalm, Louis-Jacques de Montcalm. The 11-day battle was fierce. Both generals died. Four years later, King Louis XV quietly ceded Canada to Britain. The worst prospect was the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which proposed a legislative assembly and the adoption of the laws of England. Those promises defied the to extend the English way of life: the courts clung to the rules of the *Cartes de Paris*, and grants remained local rules.

Given years later, in the Quebec Act of 1774, Britain reversed its stand, perhaps to ensure Quebec's loyalty if there were troubles in the U.S. colonies. It confirmed the feudal landholding system, restored French civil law and enabled Roman Catholics to hold office. Britain, in effect, recognized that Quebec was distinct.

Throughout the following century, French and English struggled to live together. In the wake of the American Revolution, thousands of British loyalists streamed over the border into British territory. Most settled in the Maritimes; many drifted into southern Ontario, some settled in Quebec. In 1791, Britain separated its New France colony into Lower Canada (Quebec) and Upper Canada (Ontario).



British North America Act: recurrent, bitter debates



Majority with Bourassa: similar thinking about Quebec's future as a distinct historical entity

Rock province received an elected legislature—but the appointed executive council (the cabinet) in each province did not have to bend to that legislature. In 1837, unsuccessful rebellions broke out in both Upper and Lower Canada. The overwhelming official, Lord Durham, found "two nations warring at the bosom of a single state."

He recommended the assimilation of the French because they were "a people with no literature and no history." Britain promptly created a common legislature for Canada East (Quebec) and Canada West (Ontario), although Quebec was more populous, to ensure British ascendancy: both provinces received equal representation. The scheme did not work. By 1861, the English outnumbered the French—but Canada East had equal representation. The Canadian fractured largely through shifting coalition governments.

The Civil War Stirred Fears In The Canadas

That instability, coupled with outside pressures, led to the birth of the nation. By the 1860s, the Canadas were in an uproar: although Britain was officially neutral in the American Civil War, it tacitly supported the separatist South. As a result, leaders of the Canadian federal movement from the northern U.S. Union forces, many believed that uniting Canada was necessary for its survival. Canada East Tory leader George-Etienne Cartier agreed. But he stipulated "that the two provinces (must) consent with equal powers

and that neither should dominate over the other in Parliament."

In the summer of 1864, the new coalition government of the Canadas proposed fundamental constitutional change to end the succession of unstable coalition governments. That now coincided with the Atlantic provinces' plan for treaty talks to discuss entry. The Canadian coalition requested permission to attend that Atlantic meeting. When asked, the Atlantic provinces assented. Their first encounter took place in Charlottetown, discussions continued in Quebec City. In late 1864, the Fathers concluded an agreement. On March 8, 1867, the British government passed that agreement, the British North America Act, as Canada's key constitutional document. The act took effect on July 1, 1867. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario were now the Dominion of Canada. In 1870, Manitoba joined. A year later, British Columbia arrived. In 1873, Prince Edward Island joined. In 1995, Alberta and Saskatchewan followed.

From the beginning, Confederation created a gulf in perception between English Canada and French Canada. Agitated by the Civil War raging in the American federation, John A. Macdonald, who was to become Canada's first prime minister, concluded that federalism, in themselves, were divisive forces of government: he wanted to create a strong central government. In contrast, Cartier insisted upon strong provincial powers to protect Quebec's language and its Roman-Catholic schools. As historian Masson Wade observed: "It was Cartier who determined the capital decision that the union should take a federal rather than a legislative form. Macdonald himself favored a legislative union."

The result was a fascinating compromise: Ottawa received pow-



Trudeau and the Queen signing the Constitution Act in 1982: a conflict that pitted neighbor against neighbor

ers over such weighty matters as the regulation of trade and commerce, the provinces received control over such areas as the administration of justice. At the same time, all unspecified powers resided in Ottawa. As well, the federal government could dissolve or nullify provincial laws. Macdonald concluded, "We thereby strengthen the central Parliament and make Confederation one people and one government." Carleton assented: "Under the new system, Lower Canada will lose its local government and almost as such legislative power as formerly."

The seeds of discord were sown. Surprisingly, the first challenge to federal rights came from Oliver Mowat, Ontario's determined premier. A participant at the Quebec Confederation conference, Mowat decisively rebuffed the legislative and judicial review status of his province. Alarmed at this challenge to strong central government, Macdonald set out to stop him. Their acerbic exchanges legendary. Mowat passed legislation, Macdonald disallowed it. But there was an agreement in Macdonald's plan: although Canada had created a Supreme Court in 1875, the judicial committee of the Privy Council in Great Britain remained the final authority for all constitutional cases under the British North America Act.

Despite Ottawa's capitol, the Privy Council did not automatically conclude that Ottawa possessed all powers not specifically assigned to the provinces. To Macdonald's horror, the Privy Council began to place limits upon that so-called residuary power clause. The provinces were gaining power—at Ottawa's expense.

In this climate, the now-familiar rebuke of Quebec's insistence on provincial rights began. In 1887, Liberal Honoré Mercier became premier of Quebec. Provincial passions were running high. In 1885, Ottawa had besieged the Insurrection Louis Riel leader of the Métis in the west, for treason. Mercier denounced to promote the growth of French culture—and he identified that cult as almost exclusively with the province of Quebec. As a result, he became an advocate of strong provincial rights. In 1887, Mercier and Mowat met with the premiers of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Manitoba.

Mercier did not ask for special powers for Quebec. Instead, he advocated more power, and more revenue, for all provinces. The five premiers denounced Ottawa's power of dissolution and they

demanded the right to name half of the Senate's members. They also called for larger federal subsidies. Macdonald hotly ignored their demands. But he could not ignore the fact that their status and their power were now greater than he had ever intended.

The stage was set for the 100th-anniversary constitutional wars.

The New Century Brought Expansion

These now-familiar power struggles between Ottawa and the provinces, between French and English Canada, punctuated the first decades of the new century. With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, Ottawa regained its faltering control over the nation. Plagued over crime, its unpopulated coastal and personal taxes and created a War Trade Board to supervise the national economy. Peace in 1918 brought leniency. The British Privy Council reduced Ottawa's provincial authority power to an exceptional authority that could only be invoked in emergencies. The provinces expanded their health and welfare services; they constructed highways, protected health, built hydroelectric stations. Federal expenditures declined, provincial expenditures doubled.

At the same time, Quebec nationalism was flourishing. The spark was the conscription crisis of 1917. For many Quebec residents, the Great War was Britain's war; Canada was merely Britain's conscript. When Prime Minister Robert Borden needed conscription through the House of Commons, riots broke out at Quebec. French-Canada nationalist Henri Bourassa, the founder of the newspaper *Le Devoir*, opposed the war—and he bitterly opposed conscription. With peace, he intensified his campaign to turn Canada into a truly Anglo-French nation. Quebec would have to fight to protect French culture against assimilation. French would have to enjoy equal status with English throughout the nation. The two cultures must become truly equal partners.

Meanwhile, Canada itself was assuming new powers. In 1931,

with the Statute of Westminster, Britain granted full legal freedom to its dominions—except at those areas where they decided to remain subordinate. At Canada's request, the law specifically stated that Britain retained the right to amend Canada's Constitution because Canada itself had no amending formula. All previous amendments to Canada's Constitution, such as the admission of additional provinces, had been sanctioned in Westminster. Without an amending formula and without Westminster, there could be no future amendments.

That dilemma was at the core of the next 50 years of constitutional wrangling.

In 1936, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King made the first major attempt to reform the system. At the time, depression gripped the nation; Ottawa wanted to improve social services and impose economic controls. But the British Privy Council had weakened Sir John A. Macdonald's cherished central government. And now the central government believed that constitutional amendments were essential to preserve Canada's place in the industrialized world. The federal and provincial participants struggled for months. They finally agreed upon a complicated four-part amending formula that required unanimous consent for all steps. New Brunswick rejected it.

King refused to give up. In August, 1937, despite the furious opposition of Alberta, Quebec and Ontario, he appointed a royal commission to examine again the economic basis of Confederation. Three years later, the inquiry also examined provincial relations, the so-called Rowell-Sorenson commission, recommended a shifting of taxation power to the federal government—and the creation of grants to the provinces to equalize provincial tax revenues. That report later became the basis for many subsequent federal-provincial agreements. But, by then, the Second World War was raging. Without Royal Warrants, without much opposition, King had mobilized his nation for conflict—and regained federal jurisdiction. All provinces agreed over income powers, and Ottawa agreed a verbal compromise over fiscal policy. Ottawa withdrew its fiscal allowances and a federal labor relations code, and set a floor for farm prices. War diminished the potentially enormous gains of government power—and the enormous spending cost. The provinces watched, and learned.

In Peacetime, The Tensions Deepened

At the end of the war, the domestic fog of war remained. In 1945, Ottawa, to preserve its new powers, proposed that the provinces surrender control over personal and corporate income tax in return for guaranteed per capita subsidies. The provinces were keenly aware that Ottawa wanted to apply the interventionist theories of such economists as Britain's John Maynard Keynes in order to achieve the pace of economic development in Britain. In a conservative, unwilling to subject themselves to new theories, they refused to settle for a permanent loss of power and rejected the proposal. Instead, Ottawa negotiated less ambitious tax agreements with seven of the nine provinces in 1947. Newfoundland did not join Confederation until 1949. Despite minor and distant, such agreements were renewed every five years. Meanwhile, by the late 1950s, most health and welfare policies were purely federal.

With peace, constitutional warfare resumed. In 1949, Westminster appeared. Ottawa's request to make British amendments affecting federal power. At that same year, Ottawa shelved appeals to Britain's Privy Council: the Supreme Court of Canada became the court of last resort. In 1950, a federal-provincial conference tried, once again, to discover an acceptable amending formula. But again, it failed. Quebec declared that the Constitution was sacrosanct and it could not be touched.

A decade later, in June, 1960, Liberal Jean Lesage won the Quebec election—and the current phase of the long-running constitutional battle began. Many historians now contend that Lesage's



Trudeau (seated left) and Lesage at 1960 meeting: a referendum proposal

election heralded the start of the Quiet Revolution, Quebec's delayed entry into the modern world. An ardent nationalist, Lesage wanted to end the Quebec "style" to deliver basic public rights and to promote francophone interests. He shirked all constraints of domination by the Roman Catholic Church; he poured beyond Quebec's borders, noting the judicial and financial limitations of Confederation. Government ministers spoke openly about the need to be "sovereign in our own house" and demanded new talks to bring home the Constitution with an amending formula.

The clearest clash with Ottawa took place in 1964. At a stormy federal-provincial meeting, Lesage forced the federal government to accept Quebec's withdrawal from several federal-provincial cost-sharing programs, such as hospital construction, and to offer compensation to Quebec. As a result, Ottawa gave Quebec 64 per cent of the personal income tax collected within the province—while the other provinces received only 50 per cent. Quebec also launched a fully funded provincial pension plan. The bold move now forced Ottawa and the other provinces to start the Canada Pension Plan. In that same year, Ottawa and the provinces finally crafted a complicated constitutional amending formula, the so-called Patrius Formula. But the constitutional breakthrough was short-lived. When Lesage's rival, Jean Narcisse Landier Daniel Johnson, reluctantly agreed that the formula would prevent the acquisition of major new powers, Lesage abandoned his amendments in 1965.

Despite the constitutional failures, the three were right for Quebec. The Quiet Revolution was heard. In 1962, Prime Minister Lester Pearson also appointed a royal commission on bilingualism.

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and localism, which eventually issued a landmark six-volume report. Meanwhile, Pearson estimated the use of French alongside English in the federal government and its services. In 1965, a new guard of Quebec Liberals, including Pierre Trudeau, won election in federal aims. Three years later, Trudeau was Prime Minister, determined to meet Quebec's needs within Canada, determined to form a truly bilingual government.

Despite Trudeau's federalist aspirations, the pressure in Quebec for separation, and a separate identity, continued to grow. In 1970, the separatist *Front de libération du Québec* kidnapped a senior British trade official and murdered a senior Quebec cabinet minister. In response, Trudeau evoked the War Measures Act, firing wartime powers in peacetime, suspending civil rights and closing the streets of Ottawa and Montreal. That action was widely applauded across English Canada. A year later, Trudeau convened another constitutional conference in Victoria, which came heartbreakingly close to success. Ottawa and the provinces agreed on an ascending formula and undertook to hold an early meeting to discuss all aspects of federal-provincial fiscal arrangements. The status was clarified: the Constitution was finally coming home. Seven days later, after a storm of provincial protest, Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa rejected the agreement because Ottawa and the provinces did not refuse Quebec's request for "legislative primacy" in the field of social policies. Trudeau could please English Canada, but he could not, and would not, satisfy Quebec.

The country's hopes were dashed. Another decade of constitutional soul-searching began.

'Special Status' Is a Quebec Rallying Cry

The 1970s marked the blossoming of an unusual relationship: provinces that wanted to increase their own power made common cause with Quebec as it pushed for more power to preserve its distinct identity. That alliance had formed on occasion before, but its strength in the 1970s was remarkable. The common front endured until a dramatic late-evening meeting in November, 1981. But its existence throughout the 1970s marked, and thwarted, all federal-provincial meetings designed to bring home the British North America Act.

The battle began with jousting between Ottawa and Quebec. In 1973, when Quebec's Bourassa won re-election, he called for more constitutional talks. In 1974, after a majority election victory, Trudeau agreed, noting that Canada had "so totally failed in this kindergarten, fundamental structure of political independence, I believe it is time we get into Grade 1." That same year, the Quebec government passed Bill 22, which reserved French as the language of the workplace. Trudeau recommended that the Constitution be brought home—and that the provincial Front Mouvement adopt the 1971 ascending process, the so-called Victoria formula. Bourassa pointedly reminded him that Quebec wanted agreement on a new division of powers before the Constitution came home.

The battle of principles heightened in 1979. In January, Bourassa wrote, "Quebec has set itself the objective of being and becoming a French state within the Canadian common market." Trudeau replied, "At one time, there was talk of Quebec having a special status but, fortunately, that is a dead issue." Said Bourassa: "I won't make Quebec's cultural future dependent upon a majority in Ottawa, which is not ours." Nine months after those inflammatory statements, Trudeau again brought patriation with an ascending formula. Bourassa again objected. He wanted chaos to allow Quebec to reject its culture and control immigration and economic affairs. Other provinces sought amendments to change the Senate and to address regional inequalities. In October, Ottawa forged an agreement, not a constitutional deal, with Quebec. Federal decisions on Quebec-based immigrants would reflect provincial needs.



Montreal demonstration, 1987 Quebec election anger

The next round of constitutional battles simply strengthened the determination of Quebec and the other provinces to increase their powers. At the time, Ottawa bureaucrats were drafting a constitutional preamble and a constitutional guarantee for Quebec culture. But Trudeau had run out of patience. In March, 1979, he threatened to unilaterally bring home the Constitution—and worry about the division of powers later. The majority of premiers vehemently objected. Trudeau offered three alternative single patriation, patriation with the Victoria ascending formula (the formula would only come into effect when all the provinces agreed), patriation with the formula and the guarantee to protect the French language and culture (it, too, would only take effect with unanimity). In October, the 10 premiers signed their response: patriation should not occur until Ottawa and the provinces agreed to expand the provinces' role in such areas as communication and spending power. Trudeau called for further talks at a federal-provincial conference in December, 1979. But a Parti Québécois premier, René Lévesque, was now in power, and the issue stopped dead on the agenda.

Lévesque's election threw the rest of the nation into a frenzy. The premier had proposed a referendum on Quebec's future, and the province and the country argued about the wording of the question to be asked, the financing of the battle, the legitimacy of the



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THE INSIDE STORY

TOURING



ONTARIO

By John Neville

"We Just Love Living Here And Have Grown Used To The Smallness Of The Community." I was the Artistic Director of the Neptune Theatre in Halifax and in my off season, appeared as a play in New York with Liv Ullmann. I had given my notice to leave the Neptune and get my house on the water. My wife looked for a house in Toronto and then suggested Stratford. I said that's fine as long as they don't expect me to work there! ☐ So I moved to Stratford a little over seven years ago, before being appointed Artistic Director. Firstly, it's very beautiful here and secondly, it's unspoiled and has a very warm community feeling. ☐ We have pretty marvellous weather here in the summer and you can get out to the country and lake in a very short time. I used to sail in England and now my children do here. It is so beautiful in Stratford itself, with a great deal of park land, the Avon River and the river. ☐ The winter is a totally different life. Sometimes we can get snowed in but you can usually get in and out by train. I've always liked and it's delightful to skate on the lake or river and some people enjoy cross-country skiing. ☐ The

remark that people make when they visit Stratford is that they admire the architecture of the houses. They are all very old and charming. Our house is over 80 years old, not truly Victorian. It grows, and we have done a great deal of work on it. It's a house that we don't want to leave and now that I've stepped down as Artistic Director, we will continue to live here. We just love living here and have grown used to the smallness of the community. ☐ What I also like about Stratford is that it's still in a country setting but it was a wonderful base from which to go anywhere whether it be to Toronto or New York. So now that I'm a distance artist again, Stratford will be the perfect location for me. ☐ They Randall is a great friend and loves coming up to see the plays and go dining. We have some international class restaurants here like The Church, Randall's and The Old Place and there is never any lack of restaurants to take a visitor in winter or summer. And of course, most of the action has here your round. Also all the actors and artists go to a very comfortable bar called Berdley's and you can sit there as well. ☐ There is a huge audience from Ontario and the United States who come to Stratford every season, about half a million people. We have to make the product attractive, interesting and stimulating to inspire people to travel here from long distances. We really try to make them feel welcome. They come to see the plays and when they do come they find we have three very nice restaurants and beautiful scenery. People can go out to lunch out in the open air and watch the sunset. It's terrific. *compiled by Lynn Graham*



Incredible
ONTARIO

Ministry of Tourism & Recreation, Ken Clark, Minister

THE CONSTITUTION

participate. In August 1977, Quebec passed Bill 105, which declared that French was the official language of the province, the legislature, the courts, work, labor relations and business. The stage was set for another constitutional showdown. In June, 1978, Ottawa tabled an act to amend the Constitution, its preamble included a charter of rights that outlined the democratic and fundamental freedoms of all Canadians. As well, it proposed to refresh regional representation on the Supreme Court of Canada. It also called for replacing the Senate with a House of the Federation, with provincial legislatures selecting half the members of that new upper house. Ottawa declared that it could adopt most provinces at that set unilaterally because they only affected the federal government. (The Supreme Court later disagreed with that assertion.) Most provincial leaders were appalled. While a parliamentary committee considered the bill, a federal provincial summit in the autumn of 1978 considered every province agreed that the distribution of powers was a power. In September, Trudeau offered to consider changes to seven major federal areas, including spending powers. The conference still failed. Lévesque declared that Ottawa's proposals left "the short" of being acceptable. Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed argued for "an overall shift of responsibility to the governments that can do the best for the people."

Political events swirled those Bantam discussions. In 1978, after campaigning for a strong central government, Trudeau lost power, defeated by Joe Clark's Conservatives. Nine months later, he walked with a majority. Three months after that, during the Quebec referendum campaign, he promised that he and his fellow Quebec MPs would state their own view that if Quebec rejected sovereignty, he would return the Constitution to the Constitution. On May 26, 1980, the PM laid the referendum by a 50-point margin. And the country headed into another constitutional battle—one that would have a far more significant outcome.

Trudeau Takes Charge Of Events

The over 18 months was a wild roller-coaster ride through every competing constitutional vision of Canada. Premiers were jockeying for power. In the end, Pierre Trudeau finally won his longtime rival René Lévesque. Through an uneasy and often unsatisfactory compromise, the Constitution came home. Quebec did not.

The drama began shortly after the 1980 referendum. Reduced to power, anxious to keep his word, Trudeau decided to do his way. In June, the Prime Minister appointed his previous constitutional officer. Instead, he demanded new controlling powers over the economy. He also demanded, as a so-called people's package, a charter of rights. Three months later, at a federal-provincial conference, the premiers indignantly stated their disapproval, and often opposing, views of Canada. The conference failed.

Trudeau forged ahead. In the fall of 1980, he presented a parliamentary resolution to patriate the Constitution, unilaterally by the federal government, with the Victoria amending formula and a charter of rights. Only two provinces, Ontario and New Brunswick, supported Ottawa. The remaining eight provinces, nicknamed the Gang of Eight, challenged the resolution in the courts. The Manitoba

Court of Appeal and the Quebec Superior Court of Appeal ruled in Ottawa's favor, the Supreme Court of Newfoundland ruled against the federal government. As the case moved to the Supreme Court of Canada, the eight dissenters, including Quebec, signed their own remarkable accord. They demanded single patriation with a different amending formula, three. The dissidents proposed amending formula, the so-called Meech Lake formula, did not contain a specific veto over constitutional change for Quebec, although Quebec had



Chrétien (center) with provincial counterparts in 1982 creating an accord

always assumed that it possessed an implicit veto. On Sept. 28, the Supreme Court of Canada issued down a Solomonic-like judgment: Ottawa had the legal right to unilaterally patriate the Constitution but it added that unamended constitution, or possibly, required Ottawa to obtain an unspecified "consensus" among the provinces before it proceeded.

A last-ditch conference began in early November, 1980. Some members of the Gang of Eight, including Quebec and Manitoba, insisted on single patriation with the Vancouver amending formula—nothing more. For two days, the participants squabbled. Then, Trudeau launched a masterful power play. On the morning of the third day, he casually mentioned the possibility of a referendum on the charter. Lévesque snapped at the last as an "untenable solution." Trudeau promptly produced a referendum proposal guaranteeing patriation prior to a referendum. In other words, he stated that the charter would not take effect for two years, if the provinces could not agree upon a charter, the people would decide in a referendum: the charter would only take effect if a majority of Canadians in each of the regions endorsed it. Lévesque agreed. His fellow premiers were horrified as politicians vied to campaign against a charter of rights. Said Trudeau, with an enigmatic smile: "The cat is leaving the bag."

That afternoon, Trudeau declared that he could not amend the patriation resolution with the charter and the amending formula because the opposition would block it in Parliament. Instead, he suggested that Ottawa and the premiers should adopt a second resolution to hold the referendum. Because of the amending formula, the basic patriation package, the so-called Meech Lake proposal would require unanimous federal and provincial approval. Angered, Lévesque backed away from the reconsideration, he knew that all provinces and Ottawa would never agree to a referendum on the charter. But the mere prospect of a referendum had terrified Lévesque's former allies.

That night, as Lévesque slept, the nine provinces and Ottawa



Marchais, adviser Jean-Louis Marchais: months of negotiating incoherence

put together a deal without Quebec's knowledge. Canada would patriate its Constitution with the Vancouver amending formula and the charter of rights. The charter would contain an absolute federal "waterboiling clause," which would permit provinces to pass legislation in violation of the charter's guarantees of fundamental freedoms, legal rights and equality rights. A shattered Lévesque learned about the deal at breakfast with his former allies. Quebec had surrendered its once-implicit veto, because the Vancouver formula was now the amending formula—and it had still lost. Now, he said, "Quebec finds itself all alone."

The Twisted Road To The Meech Lake Crisis

For the remainder of the Parti Québécois term, there were only desultory attempts at constitutional change. Legally, there was no difficulty: the provisions of the Constitution Act of 1982 applied to Quebec. There was a political dilemma: Quebec simply refused to endorse as yet that it had not signed in 1982. Truthbe-told, a parliamentary committee on Senate reform, which eventually failed as an elected Senate. But the Parti Québécois government declared that the province would not endorse Senate reform until the Constitution was amended in a manner that it could endorse.

In an attempt to gain Quebec's support, Trudeau suggested that

Ottawa and the provinces would restore its veto. Many provinces objected. As a counter-proposal, Quebec pressed for the right to opt out of future constitutional changes with full compensation. Ottawa refused. After 1982, the Parti Québécois government routinely invoked the notwithstanding clause—and excluded all Quebec legislation from the provisions of the charter of rights. Then, in September, 1984, the federal Conservatives, led by Brian Mulroney, defeated the Liberals. The situation in Quebec still assumed a settlement still appeared impossible.

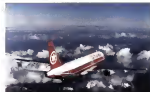
That situation changed dramatically on Dec. 2, 1985: the Quebec Liberals defeated the Parti Québécois. In 1986, the province presented its five conditions for acceptance of the Constitution Act of 1982: recognition of Quebec as a distinct society, a greater provincial role in immigration, a provincial role in appointments to the Supreme Court of Canada, justification upon federal spending power, a veto for Quebec on constitutional amendments. For months, Ottawa and the 10 provinces negotiated behind the scenes, struggling for compromise, until on April 30, 1987, a triumph but exhausted Mulroney announced that the 11 governments had reached an agreement in principle based on Bourassa's demands.

In retrospect, in the light of Canada's constitutional history, the shape of the Meech Lake accord should not have been a surprise. Quebec gained recognition as a "distinct society" with the right "to promote and to preserve" its identity, such federal-provincial immigration agreements as the 1975 Quebec-Ottawa accord were enshrined as constitutional doctrine, Ottawa agreed to select senators and Supreme Court justices from provincial lists, and all provinces received a veto over constitutional changes. The provinces also gained the right to opt out of shared-cost programs in areas of exclusive provincial jurisdiction and, if they established their own programs compatible with the national objectives, they would receive federal compensation. Finally, Ottawa agreed to hold annual First Ministers' conferences on the economy and the Constitution.

The accord, as promising in its inception, began to unravel within months. Constitutional scholars now disagree on whether all series of the accord require unanimous approval and whether the three-year deadline of June 23, 1990, applies to all clauses. That is almost irrelevant. The Meech Lake accord is a symbolic package, a symbolic step away from Sir John A. Macdonald's vision of the nation. That symbolism was not lost upon many provinces. In October, 1987, Frank McKenna, who had called for improvements to the accord, replaced Richard Hatfield as premier of New Brunswick. In December, 1988, Bourassa invoked the Constitution's notwithstanding clause to prevent legislation restricting the use of English on signs. A day later, Manitoba's new premier, Conservative Gary Filmon, withdrew his support for Meech. In April, 1989, Liberal Clyde Wells defeated the Conservatives in Newfoundland. An adamant opponent of the accord, he led his legislature earlier this year in rescinding approval.

The stage was set for a divisive debate. For more than a century, Ottawa and the provinces had fought. For more than a century, Quebec had struggled to define its place within Canada. Now the time had come to define Canada for the 21st century.

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THE WAYS AHEAD



Premier, Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa was already projecting his fallback plan. For the past month, he has devoted many of his working hours in the office to assurances in both Quebec City and Montreal to reassure his thoughts on Quebec's future were shaggy. "Canada: Like the country's nine other provinces, the 36-year-old Bourassa spent some of those hours pondering the chances for success of the Meech Lake constitutional accord. But he devoted more time, said one senior member of his staff, to getting his personal stamp on his contingency plan for Quebec's response if the accord fails. Declared the aide, "Most of a unilateral declaration of independence, just about every other alternative was considered." But Bourassa himself, in an interview with Maclean's last Friday (page 34), "I have a responsibility to Quebecers to be prepared for all outcomes."

Bourassa's preparations underscored a fundamental change in the national politics of Canada—and of Quebec. Even before Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the premiers agreed to meet over dinner last Sunday to discuss the country's constitutional future, many Canadians in every region had come to the conclusion that the war zone of the constitutional debate had irrevocably altered the country's destiny. Said Gary Doer, the leader of Manitoba's New Democratic Party: "We have started to pull apart the fabric of this country. Constitutions only reflect reality—and the values in this country have really gone downhill."

Sensibility: In the atmosphere of palpable tension that dominated the days before the First Ministers' meeting that prescient assessment was widespread. Within Quebec, Bourassa emphasized the benefits to both the province and Canada of joining the accord. He called the agreement, "an incarnation of good sense and logic." But the magnitude of the issue caused even some of Meech's formerly ardent opponents to search for a solution. Most notably, federal Liberal leadership favorite Jack Chifley, once the standard-bearer of Pierre Trudeau's wary Meech vision of Canada, joined the backroom negotiations to break the stalemate. Then, on the weekend, he told the Montreal newspaper *Le Devoir*: "I have said that Meech needs clarifications. Today, these are points that seem to be well clarified. I hope it passes."

Chifley's position demonstrated the recent dramatic shift in Canadian attitudes. Like Trudeau, Chifley was originally an outright opponent of the accord. But, in the past several months, he has gradually distanced himself from that hard-line policy to reflect the impression that he is back in Quebec's constitutional debate.

In fact, Chifley has been working behind the scenes since March to approve changes to Meech Lake's approval. He met New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna the night before the premier attended a companion resolution on March 21. Last week, he continued his



Bourassa with Mulroney: Both opposed the choices were clear, but the future was murky.

efforts, making telephone calls to, among others, his old mentor Bourassa.

At a news conference late on Saturday, Chifley said that his comments in *Le Devoir* did not represent a policy reversal. He added, "I hope that Meech Lake passes with amendments, with clarifications on the Charter of Rights and the Senate."

Many Quebec provincial Liberals said that they agreed with Chifley's explanation. Declared Sylvie Gauthier, a Bourassa aide: "Chifley's position is consistent with what he has been saying and doing for some months in support of the accord." At the same time, Canadians in other regions were expressing unprecedented concerns of ill will towards their fellow citizens as the rest of the country. Said pollster Allan Gregg, whose company, Decima Research Ltd., routinely surveys the attitudes

of Canadians on a variety of subjects: "There is a new sense of resentment and aggression surfacing. War play and tolerance towards one another are no longer rules of the game."

The debate over Meech appears to have led many Canadians to conclude that their country faces sweeping changes, regardless of the outcome of the First Ministers' discussions. Preston Manning, the leader of the Alberta-based Reform Party of Canada, declared that many of his fellow westerners would prefer to use the Meech accord and to negotiate a new constitutional arrangement with Quebec. Said Manning: "The easier we open negotiations to that, the better." And Bourassa, who has repeatedly described himself as a federalist and called Quebec's pass through the Meech Lake accord "the bare acceptable minimum," made little secret of his desire to expand the province's powers still further.

Many other self-described federalist Quebecers also said that they have loosened ties with the rest of Canada. The result could be startlingly similar to the sovereignty-in-suspension status that the Parti Québécois supported in the 1988 referendum—but Quebecers rejected by a 60-to-40 margin. Many Quebecers have named Georges Méthuen, a professor of economics at the University of Quebec in Montreal, for his proposal of a Canadian community—similar in structure to the European Community—but, he says, with "much tighter ties." Méthuen's community would offer freedom of movement for people, manpower and capital, as well as a single passport and monetary policy.

Team: At the same time, Quebec would collect all taxes on its own territory, and have its own constitution and army. According to senior Quebec Liberals, the proposal is similar to one that Bourassa was contemplating as he prepared for last week's meeting with Mulroney and the other premiers.

The Quebec premier will plainly face no shortage of proposals for alternative constitutional arrangements.

Last February, Bourassa established a party committee to discuss the province's future constitutional options—whatever the outcome of the Meech debate. Since then, the committee has met with executive members of almost two-thirds of the party's 126 riding associations in its search for ideas. Although the committee will not release its full report until next February, it will make some of its findings public in August. And its Liberal members already acknowledge that they will include a wide range of options, virtually all of them favoring a dramatically increased Canadian federation. Said Jean-Marie, the president of the 17-member committee: "We have to be prepared for every possibility, as we are going to be in the end."

The committee's work has been complicated by Bourassa's apparent personal preparations. As the three hottest provinces of Newfound

THE NATION CONFRONTS ITS DEEPEST DIVISIONS—AND LOOKS TOWARDS A FUTURE DIFFERENT FROM THE PAST

head, Manitoba and New Brunswick continued to embrace the second, and with motivated leading support in Quebec, Bourassa decided to support the second. The result was a case which Lake is set (called by its June 22 deadline). If the second day, senior Quebec Liberals told Mulroney, Bourassa will make a speech immediately afterwards to lay out his new strategy.

In it, he would forcefully assert Quebec's rejection of the status quo and present a new list of constitutional demands. Some senior Quebec Liberals, in fact, conclude that a lower likelihood in their long-term goal. Even if the March Lake accord is passed, Quebec is likely to take measures soon to try to gain greater jurisdiction over communications, including radio, television, the press media and telecommunications. Such an action, Liberal "We would be looking at much more of a constitutional arrangement with the rest of Canada." The result, added the same close observer of the Quebec leader's plans, would "mean that Canada as we know it would no longer exist."

Debate: In fact, opponents of the March Lake accord have decided that it would be better for Quebec to reject soon this to continue protracted and debilitating constitutional debates. But defenders of the second argued that its passage would mark the difference between a fractious debate and a less painful, less-temperamentary. Said a Quebec Liberal, "We think that we gradually open a new Canada that is a proper consideration of regions. Without it,

Quebec and the rest of Canada tell each other to go to hell."

The depth of the differences surrounding Quebec's view of its future from that of other provinces was particularly evident in the final



Peterson: an all-tuned memo and telephoned apologies

week before the First Ministers' meeting in Quebec, who had insisted that he would not call the premiers together unless there was a "reasonable chance of success." When Mulroney told Thatcher before deciding that such a chance existed. When he announced

the meeting, he solemnly told the House of Commons: "What is at stake is a product, neither model, when compared with what is at stake. What is really at stake is Canada."

Meanwhile, several incidents earlier in the week underscored the tensions among the country's political leaders. The deputy speaker of the Commons, Quebec, Sir Denis Proulx, was so angered by Chieftain's objections to the accord that he called the Newfoundland premier a "mental case" on an open-line radio talk show. Proulx publicly apologized to Wells the next day and resigned from his post as deputy speaker.

Ontario Premier David Peterson also came under fire when the media obtained a controversial memo, prepared by members of his staff, that suggested ways to put pressure on the dissenting provinces. The memo proposed that Ontario officials try to discredit the lobbyists by, among other things, portraying Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon as "politically erratic," accusing Wells of "an overwhelming lack of trust" and branding McKenna as "part of the problem." A furious Filmon told reporters in Winnipeg, "It certainly undermines the trust that we will have in some people at this point." And Peterson, who said that the strategy was rejected outright without the media ever reaching him, telephoned his fellow premiers to apologize.

Despite the signs of a deteriorating political atmosphere, Mulroney and the premiers used the meeting to discuss behind the scenes. When Senator Lowell Murray, the federal provocateur on the issue, took contributions

from Quebec, he and his close aide who was angry at being left out of Canada's Conservative Caucus team. Indeed, he has complained to friends that, at the time, he was killed in a Quebec nationalist while now he is accused of setting off Quebec.

Said, almost to the Prime Minister and that Charest's return to office is likely. And Quebec Tories argue that Mulroney remains a supporter of Charest. Said Gary Duffell, a Quebec Conservative organizer who runs a consulting business in Ottawa: "Charest's points are decided by a conspiracy—the Prime Minister. But the fact is that Jean Charest has not been discussed." For his part, Shekela has been named and Charest's confidence. Gary MacLaren acknowledged that the air was not safe, but he said he was not a conspiracy. "I can't see it, but it is, unfortunately, the reality of politics," Far Charest, politics has become a state of protest.

BRUCE WALLACE in Ottawa

of lawyer Roger Tassot to St. John's, Nfld., is left little doubt of the legal implications of the "damned nation" clause in a hastily composed midweek meeting. Wells was fervently impressed, according to federal Tories. And even as secretaries in Wells's office worked until 2 a.m. reviewing and—most of it repetitive—draft points in from across Canada, the Newfoundlanders were labeled regularly with both Murray and Filmon.

There were other signs of openness to resolve the stalemate. Mulroney underscored the mood of calm by calling both sides liberal opposition leaders Herb Gray and federal New Leader Andrew McNicol to his official residence at 24 Sussex Drive on Friday for a private briefing. Later, McNicol said that he had agreed, at Mulroney's request, to talk to Mulroney's door about the rules for the country if the accord was to be kept as a fait accompli.

Wells, however, there were other expressions of many individual Canadians' desire to evocate their constitutional disagreements. Two pre-March citizens groups placed full-page advertisements in several newspapers urging the First Ministers, in the words of one of the ads, "to keep our country whole." In Toronto, another group posted leaflets inviting their neighbors to "light a candle for Canada" in front of the Ontario legislature in a vigil that was to coincide with Mulroney's planned Sunday dinner with the premiers. And in Ottawa, residents of the suburbs of Cumberland planned a "one-minute march" for the same time. To demonstrate their concern.

In Halifax, New Scotia Liberal opposition leader Vance MacLaren noted his province's dependence on federal aid. He concluded: "We do not protect federalism. Atlantic Canada needs a strong federal government."

Mulroney, in Edmonton, publisher Mel Hurtig called on Mulroney and the premiers to approach change cautiously. Declared Hurtig: "It is clearly the most decentralized federal nation in the world, and many people believe it has become so decentralized it has become impossible to govern." But others demurred, insisting that the federal government's desire to satisfy Quebec and Ontario—what together account for 274 of the 295 seats in the House of Commons—has been

ally led it to ignore the needs of other regions. Opposed Alberta's Manning. "We need an for a new Canadian Constitution by the year 2000—one in which political and emotional blackmail do not figure."

The country's uncertain future also sparked unacknowledged attention from the United States. In one editorial, The Washington Post noted that Quebec "has not yet come to the point at which secession is a desirable prospect to the continuation of an intractable, abusive,



Montreal's St. Catherine Street: a different kind of union

mid-level officials in the state department, Pentagon and Central Intelligence Agency to prepare reports on Canada's political crisis. One White House official, meanwhile, told Mulroney that the Bush administration was approaching the issue with "extreme sensitivity." He said other officials were particularly wary of suggestions that they would welcome a breaking in Canada in order to absorb some areas of the country into the United States. Declared the official: "We do not want anyone to get the impression that we are trying to encourage provinces to become states."

Barack's U.S. government trade officials said that the United States has no formal policy on how to deal with an independent Quebec. But they privately added that Washington would likely offer the terms of the existing Free Trade Agreement to the province if it became a sovereign entity—a key expectation of the pro-independence Parti Québécois. Meanwhile, in Montreal, investment manager Stephen Jaroslowsky charged that, whatever changes come, they are likely to be gradual. Said Jaroslowsky: "There is no one here that is going to happen in a day. You can't just say, 'Now we're independent' and pretend your own money. Everybody is going to be Canadian first, a whole, and then you're going to be lots of time to pass up your stakes and leave."

Indeed, as independent Quebec—even a more sovereign one that continues to fly the Canadian flag—remains only a hypothesis. But on the premises prepared for their Sunday dinner with Mulroney, the mood had changed markedly from the day, only three years earlier, when the 11 First Ministers of that time originally approved the accord. Then, in an essay written for Mulroney's book, the March 11 accord meant a "uniquely of hope for our country. The rest of Canada has found its place to Quebec." The agreement, he added, was critical to a country that "could not afford another constitutional failure." Three years later, those phrases had an especially prophetic ring.

ANTHONY WILSON SMITH and BRUCE WALLACE with PAUL ADAMS in Ottawa, BARRY CANN in Montreal, WILLIAM LOFTUS in Washington and contributors' reports

A RETURN TO THE COLD

The appointment was supposed to be a springboard back into cabinet for a politician whose career had strayed from its rising path. But the chairmanship of the House of Commons committee that last month recommended ways to break the March Lake impasse turned into another political splintering. For Ben Brooks, Ontario's Jean Charest, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney put Charest in charge of the 13-member committee to come up with recommendations for a consensus resolution to the original accord that that strategy was approved in May 21 when Lester B. Pearson's Liberal government ordered the cabinet and shortly after the Charest report "an dispute by members of March Lake to avoid the second and deal a fatal blow to Quebec." With that, Bourassa

made Charest's name synonymous with constitutional tensions among Quebec nationalists. And it left Charest, 51, feeling not only personally let down by Mulroney, but also vulnerable to attack as his own province.

Behind the closed doors of the Tories' Quebec caucus, Mulroney praised Charest's work on the committee. But the government has now distanced itself from the report, with senior advisers calling it "dead." And few Tories have needed to defend Charest in public. When days of Bourassa's blistering resignation speech, Charest had to refuse threats from nationalist columnists and students that he was not a Quebecer.

Charest has not replied publicly to his critics. But he is caught in a position to excoriates that Bourassa, who encouraged him to take the committee chairmanship, holds a promise to defend the committee's report. And Charest has previously berated at critics who question his commitment to Quebec, recalling that he resigned from cabinet last January came after he intervened in a legal dispute to defend a

homosexual trade and child coach who was angry at being left out of Canada's Conservative Caucus team. Indeed, he has complained to friends that, at the time, he was killed in a Quebec nationalist while now he is accused of setting off Quebec.

Said, almost to the Prime Minister and that Charest's return to office is likely. And Quebec Tories argue that Mulroney remains a supporter of Charest. Said Gary Duffell, a Quebec Conservative organizer who runs a consulting business in Ottawa: "Charest's points are decided by a conspiracy—the Prime Minister. But the fact is that Jean Charest has not been discussed." For his part, Shekela has been named and Charest's confidence. Gary MacLaren acknowledged that the air was not safe, but he said he was not a conspiracy. "I can't see it, but it is, unfortunately, the reality of politics," Far Charest, politics has become a state of protest.

BRUCE WALLACE in Ottawa

BOURASSA'S PURPOSE

'DEALING WITH THE FUTURE OF A COUNTRY'

Since the Meech Lake accord was signed three years ago, Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa has consistently rejected calls from the dissenting provinces of Manitoba, Newfoundland and New Brunswick that he compromise on the constitutional deal. At work's end, shortly before last night's federal provincial talks on the issue, he continued to maintain that there can be no compromise on Quebec's "essential" constitutional demands, which the accord satisfied. The Quebec premier elaborated on his position in an interview with Maclean's Ottawa Bureau Chief Anthony Wilson-Smith. Excerpts.

Maclean's: How has the increasingly acrimonious debate of the past three years changed your view of the rest of Canada?

Bourassa: It has made clear to me that there is a great deal of incomprehension in Canada towards Quebec. For example, English-Canadian accuse Quebec of being responsible for the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. For us, it was a question of economic common sense. And they accuse Quebec of responsibility for the federalization policies of the federal government, when in fact we have nothing to do with that. They also accuse us of separatism because we passed Bill 121 (which bans the use of languages other than French from outside commercial signs). But the actual guarantees and services we offer our English minority far transcend anything that other provinces offer their francophone minorities. So I feel there is a great gap in understanding.

Maclean's: How do you respond to the suggestion from members of your own Liberal party that invoking Meech Lake would slow down Quebec's efforts to achieve greater powers, it might be best if the accord fails?

Bourassa: I have heard that opinion with increasing frequency lately in all regions of Quebec. But, for the reasons of the accord, remains the most desirable alternative for Quebec and the rest of Canada. It would give us a much-needed breathing space in constitutional discussions that everyone requires right now. As well, the dissenting provinces would have to bear a very heavy responsibility if the

accord did not pass in its existing form. That would undermine the credibility of the entire negotiating process. Now, in future, could any premier of Quebec, or for that matter any province, conduct negotiations seriously if it could not be certain that even his own province would abide by that agreement in the future? This is a very heavy factor for those premiers to consider.



The premier: 'There is a great gap in understanding.'

Maclean's: In retrospect, would you have appeared more compromising if you had originally demanded more at the Meech Lake talks—then dropped back to your present position?

Bourassa: As I have previously said, you do not compromise on what is already a compromise. The fact is that all of the premiers did agree to our position at the original talks, and all of this talk has come later. But more importantly, I was trying to formulate the essential words that Quebec has within Canada, and that

these were the bare minimum I could ask for. We are talking about the place of a people within a country, and I wanted an agreement. To have followed any other strategy would have been machinelike, and inappropriate. You do not behave like Machiavelli when you are dealing with the future of a country—in other words, when you are playing with the future of a people, you do not ask for more in order to get less.

Maclean's: If Meech Lake does not pass, will you be able to conduct future constitutional negotiations with other provinces?

Bourassa: On a one-to-one basis, I think I could do so. But in the another sit-down with the other 10 First Ministers, I very strongly doubt that. Maclean's: English Canada appears prepared to accept the "distinct society" clause only if it gives Quebec no extra powers. But Quebecers seem to think that the clause does precisely that. How can these two views be reconciled?

Bourassa: Prominent constitutional experts from both Quebec and other parts of Canada have concluded that the idea of a "distinct society" can be compatible with other elements of the Constitution. So this will become clear over time.

Maclean's: Some Canadians say that Quebec and keep pushing for more powers until what remains is 25 or 30 years resembles a common market arrangement with the rest of Canada. How do you respond to that?

Bourassa: The world is changing so quickly that you can no longer forecast what will happen in 25 or 30 years. For now, my efforts are concentrated on what the present accord is successful. After we know that, we will see what happens next.

Maclean's: But have you been preparing yourself to deal with the possible collapse of Meech Lake?

Bourassa: It is true that I have been spending much of my time recently considering what to do if Meech Lake fails. I have a responsibility to Quebecers to prepare for all eventualities. But I would not want to comment on what these other options might be right now because I am strongly hoping that the accord will pass. □

An advertising commitment to the June 11, 1990 issue of Maclean's magazine

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"As protecting the environment becomes a more urgent priority, I think we will increasingly look to the nuclear energy option...I am confident about the future of our nuclear industry."

Honorable John Epp, Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources Canada

NUCLEAR POWER A Strategic Energy Option

by Paul Schofield

Canadians can take pride in the technical and financial success of the CANDU reactor program. Not only have we developed a unique and world-class nuclear technology, we have enjoyed a business return that has more than offset our total nuclear program investment.

CANDU has been instrumental in generating the low-cost electricity that has contributed to our high standard of living and has shown this country a industrial development. Second the environmentally nuclear power has helped reduce the emission of the acid gases and carbon dioxide that have seriously threatened our environment.

Paul Schofield is vice-president and general manager, power systems and services, AECL Canada. He also serves as chairman of the Canadian Nuclear Association.

continue to generate a major portion of this country's electricity into the next century.

Nuclear power, the engine behind much of Canada's growth, may not be a means of assuring developing countries a reliable sustainable development.

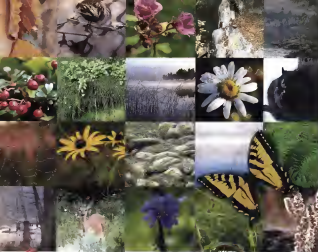
Despite mounting environmental concern about acid rain and the greenhouse effect, most developing countries rely on fossil fuels as their primary means of generating electricity. This reliance presents a global dilemma. Although there may be shortcuts to environmentally acceptable development, developing countries cannot be expected to adequately fund both economic growth and ensure environmental protection.

The World Bank estimates that developing countries will require one trillion dollars for electricity generation needs over the next decade, 200-300 per dollars of which equally can come from the World Bank and other international and bilateral sources. Obtaining this remaining 500 billion dollars will require innovative solutions from developed countries if long-term sustainable development can be achieved for developing nations.

Nuclear power units, particularly the compact small-size and rapidly installed reactors, may represent the key to sustainable development for these countries. Nuclear power can satisfy the electricity needs of developing nations while ensuring environmental protection. Unlike fossil fuel plants, nuclear plants do not generate emissions that contribute to acid rain or the greenhouse effect.

Canada's CANDU nuclear technology is ideal for these applications and already is generating power in several export markets worldwide. Designed to supply environmentally friendly for Canada's domestic market, Canada's proven and reliable CANDU technology is well-positioned to assist developing financial achieve environmentally sustainable development. At home or abroad, CANDU is indeed the strategic energy option.





These are some of the grounds for nuclear energy.

Concern
for our
environment
s grounds
for the use
of nuclear
energy.

When we use Canada's CANDU nuclear power stations to generate electricity, we help preserve and protect our natural treasures. Nuclear energy, after all, does not produce the acid rain that is killing our lakes and trees, nor does it emit

the carbon dioxide that is causing global warming. AECL invests more than \$50 million each year in environment-related research. A major concern of our scientists is the disposal of nuclear waste. We believe safe methods now

exist to securely contain and manage nuclear waste until it is no longer a threat to the environment. And containment of a relatively small amount of used nuclear fuel is preferable to the massive discharge into the atmosphere of pollutants from burning other fuels.

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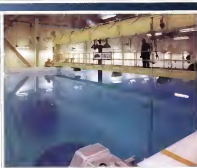


For the past 30 years, Canada's most advanced power plants have been safely storing high-level nuclear waste in the fuel bundles from CANDU reactors — in water. "Being the only consolidated fuel storage ponds that burned radioactive material as waste after, more is to be done. Development and supported in groundwater, our concept focuses on making the used fuel and containers as mobile as possible," Ferguson explains. "And it suits these countries well because the book the movement of water and fuel and solid in aqueous materials that could eventually cause."

"We're very confident it will do the job," Ferguson continues. "From what I know of how other wastes are managed, our concept for disposal of used fuel is probably the safest ever developed for a hazardous substance." he says.

"There is no doubt in my mind that we can safely dispose of used nuclear fuel."

Chris Ferguson managing director of Atomic Energy of Canada Limited



Ontario Hydro

Planning for the future

Ontario Hydro's recently announced plan for providing electricity to its customers in the next quarter century comes after years of intense planning and review as well as sound economic public consultation.

At present rates of growth, the demand for power in Ontario could double by the year 2014. Unless developers are made aware of how that increasing demand can be met, there is a real risk of slowing growth means less rising and less economic recovery.

Ontario's electricity needs for the next 25 years means weighing future electricity needs, present and future generating resources, and the ability to be flexible in meeting customer requirements. These considerations provide a delicate balancing act in planning for the future.

Ontario's electricity customers have come to expect dependable, reasonably priced power. Customers also want the production of electricity to have as little impact as possible on the environment.

While Ontario's electricity use will grow in the next several decades, some of Ontario Hydro's major sources of generating electricity will water out. By the year 2014, almost 30% (one of Ontario Hydro's major generating stations) will have to be retired.

One solution to the dilemma of increasing demand and retiring generating capacity would be to build new stations for each facility that is retired. That approach, however, is unacceptably economically and environmentally risky.

Ontario Hydro's approach has taken a different and flexible approach to meeting future

electricity needs. A balanced plan means reducing the growth rate of demand for power as well as increasing supply. The solution is simple: lower demand growth means less rising and less economic recovery.

During a electricity customers will play a major role in slowing the rate of increasing demand. Residential, commercial, and industrial customers have a host of options for using less electricity. Using measures such as



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New Brunswick's Point Lepreau Generating Station is consistently one of the world's most efficient, safest, and most reliable power plants. It has contributed to keeping power rates stable over the past 15 years.

The world-class performance of Point Lepreau is one of the reasons it is the only CANDU nuclear power plant in Canada to be recognized as a world leader in nuclear technology.

During this period, it has been given a top ranking for its safety and reliability. It has contributed to keeping power rates stable over the past 15 years.

The world-class performance of Point Lepreau is one of the reasons it is the only CANDU nuclear power plant in Canada to be recognized as a world leader in nuclear technology.



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The Power in Electrical Engineering.

highest light bulbs and other energy savers in the home. High-efficiency motors in factories and power in districts in off-peak periods can all reduce demand. When these and other "better use" measures are combined, they could reduce Ontario's future electricity requirements by about 25 per cent.

Better efficiency at the home, office, or shop will help ease the need to build new supply facilities while further supply can be developed from other sources.

Ontario Hydro is encouraging private electric utility producers, such as neighbouring electric utilities to develop facilities and sell their excess power to Ontario. Ontario Hydro has already agreed to buy large amounts of power on a long-term basis from Manitoba Hydro. In total, Ontario Hydro expects to satisfy about 15 per cent of the province's future requirements from "new hydro" sources.

Ontario Hydro also plans to go back to its roots by developing some remaining provincial hydroelectric sites and upgrading existing ones. Some of Ontario's oldest hydroelectric stations are being refurbished for "run-of-river" operation, and this operation will continue well into the next century. Such activities to use more clean and renewable sources of water power are expected to replace about 10 per cent of future requirements.

Making up the balance of future electricity supply involves a mix of options that reflect technical soundness, cost, and environmental considerations.

By the year 2024, Ontario Hydro's generating capacity will be more varied and flexible and will provide a balanced response to customer needs. Ontario Hydro plans to use nuclear stations to provide the day-to-day demand for electricity. Natural gas will be used to meet the peaks in power demand, when demand is highest because of cold weather or in a conditioning loads during the summer.

Safety and cooling systems into nuclear as a city in Ontario have re-affirmed Ontario Hydro's assurance that nuclear power has low operating risks and is safe for both employees and the public.

Gas-fired combustion turbine units offer the benefit of inexpensive construction costs, flexible operation, and little pollution.

The construction process with customers and other members of the public has helped bring Ontario Hydro's future plans into focus. Community discussions and public hearings have been held throughout Ontario to keep customers up-to-date and to get useful customer feedback. These sites will be hearings before an Ontario Environmental Assessment Board.

As Ontario Hydro's future plans evolve, customers will be having a lot more. There are facilities that provide an overview of the plan technical reports that offer cost and money and a plans review (1-800-363-8000) to call for more information.

Preserving Nuclear
Renewing the
then, on Lake
Ontario and of
Toronto, has been
operating since
the early 1970s.
In Ontario Hydro's
recently released
document, "Supply
Plan, Nuclear and
other sources are
to be one of a balanced
variety of
options proposed
to meet future
electricity needs."



PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE

Vital to Nuclear Energy

Overall, the Canadian public is divided almost equally in their opinion of the value of nuclear energy for generating electricity. Even among those who do not favor nuclear energy, many accept it as the energy source of the future.

Despite its economic and environmental advantages, it will still be a major safety feature. Nuclear energy is often feared and misunderstood. Much of the opposition to nuclear energy appears to stem from a lack of knowledge and understanding of the electricity source. In fact, studies show that those who understand nuclear facilities are most supportive of nuclear power. In Canada, for example, support for nuclear power is greatest in Ontario, where nuclear energy provides about half of all the province's electricity.

Those opposed to nuclear energy most often cite two main reasons for their opposition: the safety of nuclear power and the disposal of used nuclear fuel.

After Canadian's inquiries, however, about the safety of nuclear energy, it is clear that this actually believes they will be affected by a major power plant accident in the near future. Indeed, the industry believes Canada's nuclear industry plants are among the safest in the world.

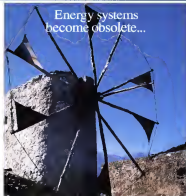
Most Canadians overestimate the amount of used nuclear fuel currently existing in Canada, and this may heighten their concern about the disposal of nuclear waste. Despite this concern, a majority of Canadians believe that the nuclear industry has handled nuclear waste as a long-term problem. They also agree that the industry must protect the environment as a priority.

The Canadian nuclear industry faces a formidable challenge in gaining greater public acceptance and support. Nonetheless, as the environmental, economic, and other advantages of nuclear energy become better understood, the industry is confident that public support will grow.

The Top Ten
Largest Nuclear Power Plants (the percentage by December 31, 1990) from among all stations can be found.

Country	Ranking	Year	Capacity (MW)
USA	1	Indian Point	2,100
Canada	2	Pickering	1,800
France	3	Chooz	1,600
Germany	4	Neckar	1,400
Sweden	5	Barsebäck	1,300
UK	6	Chernobyl	1,200
FRG	7	Chooz	1,100
Belgium	8	Dessel	1,000
Germany	9	Chooz	900
Canada	10	Chooz	800

*Source: Nuclear Engineering International
*Capacity based on 1990 estimates
*Ranking based on 1990 estimates



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Rio Algom Limited was born a major Canadian uranium producer in 1960, and remains so today. The company was produced from the Elton Lake, Ontario, and Andromeda Lake, New Brunswick, and some development operations in New Mexico and Wyoming. As well, uranium remains one of the minerals of primary interest to the company's exploration program.

While the company has diversified extensively since its beginnings in Elton Lake, uranium is still a key element of the present and planned mining portfolio," says Colin Kennedy, president and chief operating officer of Rio Algom.

The company operates three uranium facilities in Elton Lake. The Stanleigh mine, associated in 1960, is dedicated to supplying 75 million pounds of uranium under a long-term contract with Ontario Hydro. The Quaker and Power mines supply uranium under contracts with utilities in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Japan. The two mines are expected to close within the next 32 months when production for these contracts is completed.

In January 1989, Rio Algom Mining Corporation acquired uranium properties and assets in New Mexico and Wyoming from Kerr-McGee Corporation. The New Mexico properties include underground ground mines and the largest uranium mine in the United States, which were placed on standby in 1989. Limited uranium production

Kerry McGee, former Elton Lake, Ontario, who has been of the best of the best in the uranium industry.



PLANNING ONTARIO'S FUTURE ELECTRICITY NEEDS

Ontario Hydro's plans to meet Ontario's Future Electricity Needs...



Ontario Hydro has a plan to meet Ontario's growing demand for electricity for the next 25 years.

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Inside the "Balance of Power" Overview book you will learn:
How energy efficiency at home and at work forms a vital part of the proposal.

plan, since more efficient use can contribute about 25% of what we'll need in the future.

Why Hydro is making plans to recondition and refurbish existing generating stations making them more efficient to operate.

Why buying electricity from private generating sources and other utilities is part of the plan and will help meet future needs.

The role additional hydroelectric (water power) sources will be asked to play in Ontario's electrical future. Why major new generating stations will be needed.

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CANDU 3

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The objective is to provide a CANDU 3 reactor that will be built in about three years. In the last decade there has been a significant increase in the number of CANDU 3 reactors in the 1980s and 1990s. The "CANDU 3" reactor is a significant improvement over the CANDU 2 reactor in terms of its safety and efficiency.

The CANDU 3 reactor is a significant improvement over the CANDU 2 reactor in terms of its safety and efficiency. The CANDU 3 reactor is a significant improvement over the CANDU 2 reactor in terms of its safety and efficiency.

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For each CANDU 3 reactor, a CANDU 3 reactor is a significant improvement over the CANDU 2 reactor in terms of its safety and efficiency.

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Engineers at AECL Canada are using the latest computer-aided design (CAD) technology to design the CANDU 3 with significant results.

The CANDU 3 reactor is a significant improvement over the CANDU 2 reactor in terms of its safety and efficiency. The CANDU 3 reactor is a significant improvement over the CANDU 2 reactor in terms of its safety and efficiency.

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The CANDU 3 reactor is a significant improvement over the CANDU 2 reactor in terms of its safety and efficiency. The CANDU 3 reactor is a significant improvement over the CANDU 2 reactor in terms of its safety and efficiency.

continue using leading and mine water recovery techniques.

Engineering projects include an in situ leach uranium mining project now under study for potential development. The in situ techniques being tested have both environmental and cost advantages. When developed, these projects will produce uranium at the low end of the cost curve. These low production cost projects will position Rio Algom to efficiently supply the expected increase in demand in the mid 1990s.

The company also has an interest in Rossing Uranium Limited, which mines uranium in Namibia. Rio Algom sees a long future for nuclear power generation, and hence uranium production.

Although the current steel market for uranium is severely depressed, the world's appetite for electricity continues to grow. Demand management is a possible part of the solution, but additional non-nuclear supplies of electricity will still be required.

A lack of key factors in the long-term nuclear power generation is the growing worldwide concern about degradation of the environment. The need to eliminate waste and reduce carbon dioxide emissions, contributing to the greenhouse effect makes uranium-fueled power generation increasingly attractive.

"All electrical utilities examine the sources for additional electricity. It is becoming increasingly evident that increased generation from existing stations and the building and commissioning of additional nuclear power facilities will be the first option," says MacIntyre. "At Rio Algom, we intend to be an important part of that option."

THE CONSTITUTION



Coe-Jane Cooke: 'Mr. Wells should slack off a bit—I think Quebec should, too.'

TRUST IN THE SKIPPER'S HAND

NEWFOUNDLANDERS STAND BY WELLS

It was an annual setting for a discussion on Canada's constitutional crisis. The 50-foot sailing schooner *Scotian*, on a post-ritual run, was moving last week, was heading away from St. John's harbor towards Cape Sable, the eastmost point of Newfoundland—and Canada—closer to Ireland than it is to Vancouver. Standing at the vessel's stern was Stanley Cook, a St. John's high school history teacher and a point of the boat's owner for the brief shadowed cruise. As conversation turned to the much-publicized role that Newfoundland's premier was playing at the deadlock over the Meech Lake accord, the 45-year-old father of three said: "Up until now, we haven't had the power to watch within Confederation. We have been spending our whole life looking at the Meech Lake accord."

But at the ship's bow, her back to the break wall, stood a more dauntless observer, Cook's daughter, Con-Jane, 12. The Grade 12 student said that prior to the trip to Montreal in early May for a volleyball tournament, she had also been a firm supporter of Wells. But in Montreal, she

said, "I heard things I hadn't thought of before. People in Quebec may well lose their language and culture. I think Mr. Wells should slack off a bit—though I think Quebec should, too." At the end of the week, from rural outskirts to the provincial capital of St. John's, Newfoundlanders last week were grappling with the full implications of three premier's hard-earned stand on the Meech Lake accord.

Said Patricia Harrigan, a manager of Harrigan's Grocery in White Bay, 22 km south of St. John's: "A lot of my customers are talking about it." And, as two recent opinion polls have attested, most Newfoundlanders appear still behind their premier's rejection of the accord. Indeed, one of those polls, released on May 31 by Fredericton-based *Business Market Research Ltd.*, found that 65 per cent of 390 respondents were ready to support any amended accord that Wells eventually supported—even before knowing what exactly would be in that document.

But despite such widespread support, some Newfoundlanders still expressed nagging

doubts last week about the fate of their province. Among them was John Wells (Def. 22), a third-year medical student at Memorial University in St. John's. Relating after dining practice on the city's Quik Vite Lake, Duff said that, like Wells, she had strong reservations about the section in the Meech Lake accord that recognizes Quebec as a "distinct society." But she added, "it would be an incredible tragedy if Quebec secedes." Duff also hesitated at the way the Newfoundland premier was dealing with the constitutional deadlock. Said Duff: "I think Wells gets frustrated. And he keeps saying, 'Newfoundland wants this and Newfoundland wants that.' I feel that's quite presumptuous."

Bruce Wells Oakes, a farm worker at Bay Bulls, 60 km south of St. John's, voiced similar concerns: "I think Mr. Wells is out to prove a point, and at will be at our expense," said Oakes. "This is scoring the bell end of us. We could lose our benefits if Confederation gets into a constitutional emergency and we're not in it."

Still, such cracks are clearly in the minority. Two separate polls conducted in the last month by Kesteven Research and Statistics Canada's Research Associates found that between 64 and 68 per cent of respondents shared Wells's opposition to the accord. As well, the Kesteven Research poll suggested that 25 per cent of those who backed the premier's stand did not have any specific reason for doing so. Explained John Cooper, 73, editor of *The Senior Voice*, a St. John's-based newspaper for senior citizens, "It has really been a matter of treating the man rather than knowing the details. Mr. Wells is one of the most statesman-like leaders we have ever had."

Support for the premier is strong, even among those Newfoundlanders who are backing heavily on federal funding for a long-awaited \$6.5-billion program that will exploit the offshore Hibernia oilfield. Gary Evers, president of East Coast Marine and Industrial Ltd., acknowledged that the prospect of Quebec seceding could lead to economic instability, but added: "The majority of Newfoundlanders are behind Wells. And I say, too."

For his part, St. John's teacher and businessman Cook said he is convinced that Wells, who is a constitutional expert, knows enough to get on his feet. "This is a tremendous man," said Cook, who supported the opposition Conservative party until Wells pressed Newfoundland's case on the Meech Lake accord. "We don't want outside-world powers anymore, and he is simply trying to give us enough power to start building our future." Clearly, whatever swirls of criticism come from the outside over the fate of the accord, Newfoundlanders' trust in their cool and charismatic leader is unlikely to evaporate in the crucial weeks ahead.

GLEN ALLEN is St. John's 1994.



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GRASSROOTS EMOTIONS

MANITOBA'S LEADERS ECHO LOCAL FEELINGS

For three hours, co-owner Mary Kelen had been loudly protesting noise for the lunchtime crowd that packs the 103-seat *Rebel Restaurant*, a landmark in Winnipeg's multicultural North End. As the noon rush ended one day last week, she passed to congratulate an issue that is clearly occupying the minds of many Manitobans: the March 14 vote on the threat that the constitutional impasse has posed for the country. "I would hate to see anything happen to Canada," she said. "No one wants Quebec to go." But Kelen also raised a sore point for Manitobans: Ottawa's 1988 granting of a maintenance contract for C-18 fighter jets in Montreal, instead of to Winnipeg. And along with many Manitobans who complain that Ottawa is favouring Quebec in the response of the rest of the country, Kelen said that the supports Manitoba's stand against Quebec. "She added, "It is very tough, but our three leaders are working together."

In fact, according to public opinion polls the overwhelming majority of Manitobans are firm in their support of Conservative Premier Gary Filmon. Liberal opposition leader Sharon Carstairs and NDP Leader Garry Doer in their opposition to March 14. In many ways, it is a marriage of convenience: Filmon's majority government depends on the support of either the Liberals or the NDP for its motions. "The handling of March 14 is one of the direct control of the premier," said Winnipeg-based politician August Rind. "Any agreement he makes must pass the legislature. An overriding factor is his own political future."

But many Manitobans say that the three leaders' opposition is a result of the inadequacy of the accord itself—and not just a product of the province's political realities. Noted part-time dance instructor Steve Brennan, 40, "Thinking the three leaders agree is good. If something is right, the politicians of different parties should stand together, like the people."

Support: Numerous provincial residents also say that their politicians' actions have been a reasonable response to what they perceive as unjust policies of the Quebec government. They remember one Quebec's Decree, 1968, that on the use of languages other than French on outdoor commercial signs. Indeed, Filmon himself withdrew his support for the March 14 accord following the introduction of that law. "It is scary that law like that can be passed," he said. "Other laws, who supports Winnipeg's loved Groulx's Bakery, which

his parents, immigrants from Poland, founded in 1927. Groulx also criticized a proposal before the Montreal Catholic School Commission to ban "alcoholic" students—those whose mothers or fathers are not English or French—from speaking languages other than French on school property. He added, "When immigrant kids are forbidden to speak English in Montreal playgrounds, that is not a free Canada."



Filmon signing autograph in Portage la Prairie: a popular all-party policy

These developments have clearly increased Manitobans' support for the demands of Filmon, Carstairs and Doer that the March 14 accord be amended to offer greater protection of minority groups. As well, many Manitobans support their province's insistence that the accord address the issue of Senate reform, which they view as a means of gaining a more powerful voice in Ottawa. And many of them claim that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's approach to the constitutional issue has heightened tensions in the country, especially in Quebec. "We feel Quebecers are being stepped up by the Prime Minister asking a lot of things of confrontation," said Winnipeg adolescent businessman Sheridon Rowles.

But, at the same time, there is a broad sense that the constitutional impasse has not

reached the stage at which it endangers the country and increases the risk of Quebec seceding. "I don't want it," said maintenance worker John Paul Corneil, a fourth-generation Manitoban living in largely francophone St. Boniface, across the Red River from Winnipeg. "I would feel the same if Alberta went."

Still, there is also a quiet confidence among Manitobans that Canada would survive if Que-

bec chose independence. That is evident in the assurance with which many Manitobans discuss the possibility of Canada's remaining permanent peace, as shared by the United States. "After two days in the United States, I wonder why I don't live there year-round," Rowles dryly observed. "After five days, I know why." Meanwhile, despite some disagreement over the issue of Senate reform, Manitobans' political leaders were trying to maintain their united front as they met into this week's last-day round of March negotiations. And while they were the focus of criticism by many pro-Manitoban Canadians, it was clear that most Manitobans were quietly behind their leaders—regardless of the consequences.

JOHN DUNNIE in Winnipeg

Winnipeg's June 11, 1990

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TOWARDS A NEW ERA

AT A WASHINGTON SUMMIT, BUSH AND GORBACHEV REACH SWEEPING ACCORDS AND HELP BURY THE COLD WAR

On the sun-bleached streets of Washington last week, it was easier to find a T-shirt bearing the likeness of Mickey Mouse or the former White House than one featuring Mikhail Gorbachev. Even as President George Bush welcomed the Soviet leader to the White House, only a handful of would-be spectators milled outside the Black iron gates, in contrast to the frenzied adulation that struck the U.S. capital as Gorbachev's first visit in December, 1985. "It's kind of like the first man in space," said Francis Key, 71, a tourist from Alabama, Calif. "Now, when they go up, it hardly makes the front pages anymore." As the summit went on, however, Gorbachev did seem eager to work some of the old magic, as he had in Ottawa earlier in the week (page 44). The crowds grew larger and more enthusiastic. But that did not disguise the visiting president's domestic difficulties, from a collapsing economy to rebellious Lithuania. And the Soviet leader, who set down with Bush last week for three days, returned the session as an embattled, fatigued and apparently weakened political figure.

In his sixth summit encounter with an American president, Gorbachev found an accommodating host at Bush. The two leaders signed a stack of documents, including a long-awaited agreement in principle for a strategic arms limitation treaty (START) and a chemical weapons accord. But, although those agreements had been expected, the signing of a commercial trade pact, which U.S. officials had previously made conditional on the Soviets' easing both

Gorbachev and Bush signing treaties. Raisa Gorbachev and Barbara Bush at the Washington arrival ceremony (opposite) symbolize, surprises and optimism



emigration rules and the crackdown on Lithuania, was a significant surprise—and a vital, if largely symbolic, victory for Gorbachev.

Bush administration sources said privately that the President, who has completely dismissed the widely circulated rumors that Gorbachev that attacked his first year in office, was determined to help him achieve a foreign policy success to take back to the Soviet Union. "We are leaving the Cold War behind," Secretary of State James Baker told a packed news conference on Friday night. "By expanding and strengthening the ties between our two countries."

At the same time, beneath the public display of power and influence, key new realities that could threaten the two countries' superpower status. "The superpowers are not irrelevant," said Ed Barrett, a senior fellow at Washington's nonpartisan Brookings Institution. "But they have less influence in Europe than they did a year ago. And while the shadow of the United States will be hard to remove, the Soviet Union faces a great threat of irrelevancy." Gorbachev as a kind of running dialogue with officials and reporters throughout the week, rejected the talk of weakness as "just an illusion," using as the main statistic and measure of success the Russian language.

But even before he and Bush got down to business, the Soviet leader's domestic difficulties continued to grow. Moscow politician Boris Yeltsin, elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian republic last week, challenged Gorbachev with an immediate call for republican sovereignty (page 43). Fierce baying, set off by the Kremlin's announcement two weeks ago of a new, price-raising tax would trigger a market rioting, pursued despite an emergency rationing plan (page 56). The stalemate over Lithuania's March 11 declaration of independence from Moscow showed no signs of breaking, while in the republic of Armenia, 24 people died in clashes between ethnic militants and Soviet troops. There was even an earthquake, which left at least 12 dead in the Soviet republic of Moldova and in neighboring Romania.

Members of the Soviet advance team did their best to put a bright face on Gorbachev's troubles. To the 5,000 journalists covering the summit, they handed out a glossy magazine picturing a smiling Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev on the cover and printing the president's "powerful economy" and "clarious" George Bush, a member of the Communist party's policymaking Central Committee, told Marianne that Gorbachev is actually "stronger" than during his Washington summit with Ronald Reagan 20 years ago. "He is president now," said Arbatov. "But he has troubles, but each president of the United States has his first hand-

gaps, his hesitations—then problems begin to emerge. If Gorbachev undertakes a drastic change of society, then problems of a major kind are inevitable." However, some members of the Soviet entourage were openly critical of the government. "But," explained economist Vladimir Morozov, "that's planned openness."

Gorbachev himself gave a strong, spirited performance, particularly as the critical German question. Before leaving Ottawa, he warned the United States not to "dictate" that a reunited Germany would be a member of NATO. And in Washington, he repeatedly referred to the Second World War, in which as many as 27 million Soviets were killed, as a standard by his countrymen's sensitivity over the prospect of German soldiers (page 43). In negotiations with Bush, U.S. officials said, Gorbachev proposed replacing NATO and the Warsaw Pact with a restructured and more powerful version of the 35-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The Americans have rejected that proposal in the past, and there was no reflection last week that any real progress had been made. Many Western analysts said that Gorbachev was simply looking for a face-saving for-



World Notes

A STUNNING VICTORY

In the first multiparty elections in 30 years in Myanmar (formerly Burma), the opposition National League for Democracy scored a stunning upset victory. Although final results will not be known for several weeks, the military government conceded that the league would likely have a majority in the 456-seat national legislature and promised to relinquish power as soon as a new constitution is approved. The league's gains came despite the home rule of party leader Aung San Suu Kyi.

DEADLY EARTHQUAKES

A powerful earthquake in northern Peru, measuring about 5.9 on the Richter scale, killed or wounded 200 people and injured thousands more. Meanwhile, another earthquake, centered 190 miles north at Badajoz and measuring 6.6, killed at least 12 people in Romania and the Soviet Union.

A VOICE FOR THE DRUG WAR

Rating leftist party candidate César Gaviria won Colombia's presidential election with nearly 48 per cent of the vote. Gaviria, 43, has vowed to step up the war against the powerful cocaine cartels that have been waging a fierce bombing campaign against the state. Verrillingly linked to the cartels have also assassinated three presidential candidates since last August. Gaviria will succeed President Virgilio Barco on Aug. 7.

A FATAL MISTAKE

The Irish Republican Army, fighting to drive British troops from Northern Ireland, apologized for murdering two Australian tourists in the Netherlands, saying that they had been mistaken for off-duty British soldiers.

CHALLENGING SOLIDARITY

Solidarity leader Lech Wałęsa convinced east-western to end a crippling strike that had posed the most serious challenge to Poland's Solidarity-led government since it imposed a harsh economic reform program five months ago. And although Solidarity was about 41 per cent of the seats in nationwide local elections in May 27, observers said that a low voter turnout, only 42 per cent, demonstrated growing frustration with the government's economic performance.

KEEPING U.S. BASES IN GREECE

After several years of tough negotiations, the United States and Greece signed a new defense agreement allowing U.S. military bases to remain in the eastern Mediterranean country.

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ments. "Whether he stands it or not," said former chief U.S. arms-control negotiator Paul Warnke, "Germany is going to be part of it. So it is really part of a question of negotiating the inevitable and getting whatever type of deal he can."

The quest for principle on strategy had also taken on a kind of inevitability. After nearly a decade of negotiations, the two sides had tried but failed to reach agreement in time for Bush and Gorbachev to sign a treaty at the summit in Malta, summer last December. But three weeks ago in Moscow, Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze announced that they were close to a deal that would cut long-range nuclear missiles by as much as 50 per cent. The reductions were not as significant as initially expected. The original target was 60 per cent, and both sides have continued to build new weapons since talks began. As a result, Bush and Gorbachev pledged last week to pursue deeper reductions after details of the first treaty are worked out later this year.

The agreement on chemical weapons would completely stop production of poisonous nerve and mustard gas and cut existing stocks to about 5,000 tons by the year 2010, a reduction



White House hosts and guests: an exchange of gifts and concessions

of about 25,000 tons for the Americans and 45,000 tons for the Soviets. Along with pacts on everything from cultural exchanges to ocean exploration, the two sides signed a five-year, multimillion-dollar grain deal and the key commercial trade accord, designed to increase

the current \$6 billion in two-way trade.

The American side said that Bush would not send the trade treaty to Congress for ratification until the Supreme Soviet passes more liberal migration legislation. But Bush simply dropped his anguished reference to the Lohrman case. Exploded: Warm House spokesman Martin Rostow late on Saturday: "We are helping the Soviet Union integrate itself into the international community." The trade agreement could clear the way for the real prize: most-favored-nation trading status, allowing Soviet goods to enter the U.S. market at the lowest tariff rates granted to any country, but which also requires congressional approval.

Those concessions, analysts said, were signs of Bush's eagerness to improve his U.S. image and Gorbachev's sagging popularity at home. Said Hewitt of the Brookings Institution, "It is not in our long-term interests to simply say, 'You are serious.' Ultimately, one of Gorbachev's strongest bargaining points is his weakness. Privately, he says yes to Bush, 'If it's not me, who will you go to? So don't push me so hard.'" Some analysts even suggest that Gorbachev intentionally exaggerated his domestic

win, a reform-minded party official, to be leader of the Moscow Communist party in 1985. But Yeltsin advocated more radical change than Gorbachev was willing to allow and, in 1987, he was stripped of all important party posts.

Still, Yeltsin's victory may prove inspirational for the Soviet population. Average-maturity spokesman. "Many people said that Yeltsin 'ought actually help Gorbachev, because Gorbachev is for radical reform and he needs more popular support for that.' Certainly, Gorbachev has been able to point to Yeltsin's popularity to fend off conservatives intent on rolling back reforms that after his return to Moscow this week, Gorbachev may find that Yeltsin, like many of the changes he has introduced in the Soviet empire, is now out of his control."

MARY TROMBET with CARRY GOLDBERG in Moscow



Yeltsin independence

from the Kremlin. Inevitably of populist supporters claimed "Victory, victory."

In October, the Soviet leader declared that he was "undeniably wanted" by Yeltsin's radical citizens. And although Gorbachev said that they could "resolve most issues" between them, he did little to disavow Gorbachev's concerns. As his first news conference after his election, Yeltsin pledged to introduce legislation that would make the Russian Federation "independent in everything." He condemned Moscow's new economic reform package and called on the entire national government to resign. As well, Yeltsin said that his government would trade directly with the autonomous Baltic republic of Lithuania, now struggling under a Kremlin-imposed economic blockade. Yeltsin's election, said Krasovskiy legislator Yuri Boldyrev, makes Gorbachev "a king without subjects."

Ironically, it was Gorbachev who chose Yel-

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trackers. "Either Gorbachev has totally lost touch with his senses," said Jerry Rough, a sociology professor at Duke University in Durham, N.C., "or he was happy to come in with this weak image and say, 'I can't afford to make concessions.'"

Beyond the substantive talks, the symbolic signals between the two sides were overwhelmingly positive. At the opening ceremonies on the South Lawn of the White House on Thursday, backed by the red-tiled pool and the Washington Monument, Bush pressed his hand for the revolutionary changes that he touched off in Eastern Europe and within Russia's country. "I salute you," he told a clearly pleased Gorbachev, and added, "We want to see perestroika succeed."

Gorbachev, in turn, spoke eloquently of improved relations. "The trenches of the Cold War are disappearing," he said. "The fog of prejudice, mistrust and animosity is vanishing." That night, before a White House dinner attended by such luminaries as businessman Arnold Schwarzenegger and actress Jane Fonda, the two leaders exchanged gifts: for Gorbachev, a new atlas, and for Bush, an edition of *The Life of George Washington*, by Bush, an autograph painting of Russian tsar Nicholas.

The leaders' wives attracted summit-squad attention, as well. There was no sign of the prickly looking, that once caused First Lady Nancy Reagan to say of Elena Gorbacheva "Who doesn't like this old?" Bush Gorbachev never seemed warmer and spoke less dogmatically than in the past, and she and Barbara Bush got along well as they made their rounds of formal dinners and museum visits.

They also made a formidable impression when they flew to Massachusetts to address the all-women Wellesley College graduation class on Friday. About 150 students had formally objected to the class's invitation to Bush to make the commencement speech, arguing that a college dropout and housewife was an inappropriate role model. But Bush, even her Soviet counterpart, who holds a doctorate in philosophy, addressed the students as well. And although Elena Gorbachev received warm applause, it was Barbara Bush who clearly won the day. "Susananne out in this audience," she said, "may even be someone who will one day follow in my footsteps and preside over the White House as the

first woman president of the United States."

When Gorbachev went into the streets of Washington, however, he received nothing but adulation. The overall response was lower-key than his last visit, but Washingtonians and tourists alike quickly recognized when he stepped out of his keep black 20 Lincoln Town Cars from the White House on Thursday evening. "I peeled, 'Ya, Gorbachev,'" said Bruce Warner, a 38-year-old construction officer from Medford, N.J., who housed his 10-year-old daughter, Kate, to his shoulder to take a picture. "I couldn't believe it stopped."

Warner added, "It's great, it's fantastic." Gorbachev apparently thought so too. "I feel really at home here," he told the crowd.

At the opening ceremony in the East Room of the White House on Friday evening, Gorbachev praised Bush and the accomplishments of the summit, adding grandly, "We are ready to take on the responsibility of building a new civilization." He finished his remarks by saying, "I think I have already said more than I have intended to say. I think it serves that I am honest, in the sense that I am emotional."

After spending Saturday with Bush at Camp David, including a golf-cart tour of the wooded grounds, Gorbachev left Washington on Sunday aboard his jet for brief stops in Minneapolis and San Francisco, where he expected to meet before president Reagan. He said that he was looking forward to seeing

president's spouse. "I wish him well." There were plenty of sidewalks in Washington, as well. All of them took place under the watchful eyes of a security force of unspecified size—a Soviet spokesman called it "a big bunch of people with big guns." About 1,500 Left-leaning Americans rallied on the steps of

the Capitol to protest the Kremlin's crackdown. And in Lafayette Park, across from the White House, the demonstrators included chanting Buddhists, singing Vietnamese, an AIDS-awareness rock band and Mikhail Makarov, a bearded former Soviet labor-camp prisoner who called starkly for Gorbachev to stop being "Gorbachev."

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Gorbachev, Bush: 'The trenches of the Cold War are disappearing.'

AP Wirephoto

BOB LEVIN in Washington with **ISLARY MCCORDIN**



Protesters outside the National Gallery (left); Gorbachev and Mulroney at a lunch in the gallery; rising nationalism

Magician in the streets

Gorbachev enjoys a warm Canadian reception

Mikhail Gorbachev sat the toes for his North American visit soon after he arrived in Ottawa last week. During a 20th-hour visit, he was leaving for Washington to attend the summit with President George Bush. The Soviet leader proved himself a master at working crowds. In the process, he enjoyed a reception that is increasingly rare in his beleaguered homeland: warm, loud, spontaneous applause and approval from a largely apathetic audience. Between official engagements, which included 4½ hours of talks with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and a week-long ceremony at the National War Memorial, Gorbachev twice took time to walk the streets and meet Canadians. During one hour-long walk on the downtown Sparks Street Mall, many of the spectators who crowded the sidewalks flanked Gorbachev's path toward appreciation for the general Russian's accessibility. "I never thought he would spend so much time just with normal people like me," said Ottawa resident Sandra Warden. "Lots of politicians come here, but we hardly catch a glimpse of these. Gorb is different, and I think that is wonderful."

Both Soviet and Canadian officials stressed

the significance of the visit. They deflected any suggestion that it was just a stopover on the way to Washington and pointed instead to the fact that the Soviet president formerly used his views on such vital East-West issues as the reunification of Germany. Soviet aides also pointed out that Canada had helped Gorbachev crystallize his reform policies during his first trip to the country in 1983. At that time, Gorbachev was a rising member of the powerful-Soviet Politburo with responsibility for state agriculture. And, according to the Soviet aides, his experiences visiting farms with then-agriculture minister Eugene Zhukov and seeing well-stocked supermarkets across Canada helped to convince Gorbachev that the Soviet Union needed considerably more economic and personal freedom.

As the Soviet Union struggles to remain afloat after the economic changes that he set in motion, Gorbachev made a brief, spontaneous stop for many in Canada. At a time when debate over the Misch Lake border is being separated at settlement in Quebec, the Soviet leader employed Canadians during his Sparks Street walk not to break their country into regional fragments. Declared the president: "You're

going to cut with us in one something which is alive."

At the same time, reminders of rising nationalism within the Soviet Union were prominent in a capital bedeviled with Canadian and Soviet flags for the state visit, demonstrations favoring independence for the Soviet Union's three Baltic republics toward their national flag: the yellow, green and red stripes of Lithuania, the blue, black and white bars of Estonia and the burgundy and white colors of Latvia. At one point during the former leader's slow progress along Sparks Street, a member of the anti-security detail briefly led the way with an Estonian flag that he had wrested from a demonstrator's hands after it came too close to Gorbachev's head.

Gorbachev himself accepted the presence of the pro-Baltic demonstrators with a coolness that surprised 23-year-old Jane Sosnoski of Toronto when he chatted briefly with the Soviet leader in Russian. Said Sosnoski, who fed Estonia last year as order to avoid serving in the Red Army: "To them, I am a deserter—and yet he spoke to me."

Still, Gorbachev later expressed awe at the way in which Lithuanians had sought to leave the Soviet Union. The Kremlin pressed only 10 hours' notice that the Lithuanian parliament planned to pass a declaration of independence on March 11, he said. He compared that with an agreement negotiated in 1988 between France and the South Pacific islands of New Caledonia that will give the French territory the right to hold a referendum on its independence in 10 years.



Gorbachev working the crowd on Sparks Street Mall: a welcome respite from the draining tasks waiting at home

Mulroney acknowledged that Canada also faces the problem of rising nationalism, although the Prime Minister easily rejected comparisons between the Baltic drive for independence and the separatist movement in Quebec. The Soviet Union, he said, forced annexation in 1940, while Mulroney, an incorporation that Canada has never envisaged. By contrast, he said Quebec was an accident of Confederation in 1867, and its aspirations could be satisfied "in an honorable and constructive accommodation through the March 1st accord."

At times, Mulroney appeared almost overwhelmed by the confident jolly style that Gorbachev maintained despite his crushing problems. Shortly after the Soviet leader's arrival in Ottawa, following a nine-hour flight, he fielded a reporter's question about the situation of radical politician Boris Yeltsin, in chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the powerful Russian republic. Mulroney immediately tried to shepherd his guest into his official residence at 24 Sussex Drive. Said the Prime Minister: "We do not have to answer that." But Gorbachev responded vigorously, taking 39 minutes to

express his hope that he could work together with the 50-year-old Yeltsin. And on the morning after his first downtown walk, Mulroney, clearly impressed, welcomed him at the war memorial with the words "I saw you on television last night."

Many media-oriented events followed. During an awkward 15-minute walk from the courthouse to nearby Parliament Hill, an enthusiastic crowd of spectators called Gorbachev's name and stretched across police barricades to shake his hand. Television and news photographers, including a pair of Soviet journalists accompanying the president, recorded those fleeting images. Then, deftly avoiding a potentially unpleasant encounter, Gorbachev stepped into his long black 20-117-model limousine just before he reached more than 1,600 pro-Baltic demonstrators who were massed on the Hill.

Generally, Gorbachev's brief visit to Ottawa was a smashing success. Thousands of Canadians are one of the world's foremost celebrities in person. And in an emotional scene at Canadian Forces Base Uplands in Ottawa, about a dozen top-level Canadian dignitaries wore a friendly goodbye to Gorbachev and his wife, Raisa, boarded their aircraft for Washington. The president's generally sympathetic reception prevented the Soviet leader with a welcome respite from the draining tasks that awaited him at home, where an increasingly restless population is demanding more than ritual public relations.

MALCOLM GRANT in Ottawa

A TOUCHY MATTER

It was a remark that was clearly intended to elicit sympathy for a guest who was facing tough negotiations in a week bargaining position. But it appeared to cause the only controversy of Mikhail Gorbachev's second visit. Last week, as the Soviet president prepared to leave Ottawa for the summit conference in Washington, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney told a news conference that Moscow's reluctance to accept a renounced Germany as a NATO member from the Atlantic seaboard was the Soviet people had tried to help defeat Nazi Germany in the Second World War. But now, among the Western allies, said Mulroney, "the selec-

ty of change in Europe in respect of the unification of the Germans has resulted in a degree of inadvertent sympathy of the European security apprehensions of the Soviet Union."

The next day in Washington, a terse President George Bush said that he did not need Second World War history lessons from Mulroney. At a news conference of his own at the White House, Bush, who said that he had talked to the Prime Minister "twice in the last two days," stressed that he was not insensitive to the fact that the war had cost 27 million Soviet lives. Added the President, who served his country as a U.S. navy pilot in the Pacific theater: "It might have been that I was the only one of the two of us who was old enough to remember [the war] from being there."

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LIBERIA

A raging tribal war

U.S. marines prepare to evacuate foreigners

It started with a cross-border incident on the Canadian River, which is well known to Amelch entered the West African state of Liberia from the Ivory Coast. Their leader was a disgraced former government official fleeing to overthrow President Samuel Doe. The rebels numbered only 100, but, in the five months since, that number has grown into a massive rebel force and the bloodiest conflict in the country's 163-year history. Late last week, in a surprise move, the rebels captured the town of Washington, setting a naval base direct to the river. Its mission was to evacuate more than 1,100 U.S. citizens, as well as other foreigners including 77 Canadians, from the endangered area if safety was endangered. American officials used the presence of 2,100 troops, should host support ships equipped with landing craft and escorted by a tank destroyer, to help the rebels. The rebels and other forces, including Charles Taylor, the rebel leader, are now in possession of the town.

But, in fact, neither leader seemed to be in full control of his forces. Last Wednesday, Doe's troops burst into a United Nations compound in Monrovia and killed a UN guard before abducting and murdering a number of native refugees who had taken shelter there. Meanwhile, Taylor's advancing rebels were threatening civilian traffic on the road connecting the capital to the international airport 80 km to the southeast. So far, at least, 1,800 people have been killed in the rebellion, most of them civilians slain by government troops in reprisal for their alleged support of Taylor's National Patriotic Front.

Rebel workers say that Doe's troops have machine-gunned and burned entire villages, shooting and baying civilians civilians indiscriminately and sending thousands of refugees across Liberia's northern borders into the Ivory Coast and Guinea. Foreign diplomats in Monrovia said that the brutality of the 7,800-man army was driving members of two important tribes into Taylor's camp, and turning his initial incursion into a tribal war that now threatens Doe's own survival.

Taylor himself has no tribal affiliations. He is a U.S.-educated descendant of freed American slaves who founded the country in 1845. Although these descendants make up only four per cent of Liberia's population of 2.5 million,

They governed the country until Dox, then an illiterate 38-year-old army master sergeant, seized power in a 1980 coup. He consolidated his oppressive regime by picking the army with members of his own Krio tribe.

The United States, which traditionally has close economic, cultural and political links with Liberia, provided nearly \$500 million in aid to the Doe regime in the early 1980s. But Washington sharply reduced the aid program after reports of widespread human rights abuses, including a wave of army atrocities against civil Gbo and Mende tribespeople following an unsuccessful 1985 attempt to overthrow Doe.

Taylor's spokesman, and his rising forces control an estimated half of the 37,000-mile-wide country. The public confession at the 40-year-old Taylor, a former Brigades member, says: "He was a close associate of Doe," as the early 1980s, heading Liberia's central purchasing agency, and "employed by him." He fled to the United States in 1983, accused of embezzling more than \$1 million. Since his return to Liberia in the mid-1980s, Taylor has given provocative radio interviews that many observers say were intended to stir up tribal animosities in order to gain support. But as a former opponent of the regime, in the United States and recently, on condition of anonymity, "Even if Doe came to replace Doe, he would be like an angel in the eyes of Liberians."

In April, as the rebels made dramatic advances and threatened the country's main port, Buchanan, foreign governments advised all their nonessential nationals to leave. At that time, there were about 100 Canadians in Liberia, most of them missionaries and church workers, as well as a few businessmen. By last week, said an External Affairs official in Ottawa, only about 25 Canadians remained, including the 17 in Monrovia. By agreement with Washington, they would be evacuated along with U.S. citizens.

Meanwhile, as the rebels moved closer, the capital was gripped by fear of tribal massacres. About 2,000 Gila and Mazon besieged the UN compound seeking refuge from Kachin soldiers, while dozens of Wundwin in the capital, who are allied to the Kachins, were trying to flee the country to escape the advancing rebels.

Do's behavior appeared to be increasingly erratic. Last week, he called in foreign diplomats and told them that he would never step down. "Tough times never last. Tough people do," he said. But, the next day, he announced his "firm decision" not to run in the elections scheduled for 1993. Said Do: "I am a leader, not a destroyer." He also declared his approval of the U.S. decision to send the task force. "We are friends of the United States," he said, "and all your fears must be allayed. That [U.S.] government will do nothing to harm the people of this country." For Do, the U.S. mission of

JOHN BERGMAN with correspondents' reports

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THE MIDDLE EAST

Blood on the beach

A terrorist raid backfires on the PLO

A vacationer enjoyed the beach at Netanya on Israel's Mediterranean coast last week, but a gust of gunfire suddenly punctured the crash of the surf. Then, life guards ordered people to clear the area, army helicopters clattered across the sand dunes, and it became clear that a life-and-death drama was unfolding. With an Israeli gunboat in hot pursuit, a handful of terrorists belonging to a small militia roared for the shoreline. It was part of a spectacular operation intended to sow terror among Israelis as they celebrated the religious festival of Shavuot. In the event, the raid was a dismal failure: four of the terrorists were shot dead in a fire fight among the sand dunes and the other 12 surrendered, with no casualties to Israeli soldiers or civilians. But in another sense, the raid may have been more damaging. At week's end, there were signs that it may put an end to diplomatic contacts between Washington and the mainstream leadership of the PLO.



Israeli soldiers with captured boat: dismal failure

Those contacts depend on PLO leader Yasser Arafat's ability or willingness to honor an 18-month-old pledge renouncing terrorism. And although, under U.S. pressure, he disclaimed responsibility for the raid, he failed to condemn it—a response that a senior U.S. administration source said was "totally inadequate."

The shoreline raid on the Israeli coast was launched just as the leaders of 36 Arab nations were winding up an emergency summit conference in Baghdad, the capital of Iraq. Their sharply worded communique signalled a significant hardening of Arab attitudes in Kuwait. Washington, which provides Israel with \$3.2 billion in aid each year, for what it called the Jewish state's "aggression, terrorism and expansionism." It also condemned the migration of Soviet Jews to Israel, which Israeli officials say may reach 250,000 this year, as "a new aggression" against Palestinian. And it proclaimed solidarity with terrorist host President Saddam Hussein, whose attempts to acquire nuclear arms and recent warnings of massive retaliation against any Israeli attack have caused alarm in the West.

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language of their first statement, the Arab leaders had clearly suffered from a chronic problem: identity. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, leader of the only Arab state to make peace with Israel, had tried to tone down the summit's ostentatious U.S. character, in that he reportedly had the support of Gulf moderates, including King Fahd of Saudi Arabia. As a result, observers said, the Arab conference was unable to fulfill one of its main objectives: formulating a demand that presidents George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev, meeting in Washington last week, should act to curb Soviet Jewish emigration.

But the road to the Israeli coast took attention away from Baghdad. According to Israeli officials, a Libyan ship launched five flame-thrower boats, 120 miles off the coast. Three of the boats broke down almost immediately. Two others headed for Israel. The Israelis attempted one carrying five terrorists armed with rocket launchers and anti-aircraft missiles about 12 miles north of Tel Aviv. All three on board surrendered without a fight, according to Israeli officials. About three hours later, said the officials, a naval patrol spotted the other boat approaching Nazareth, about 30 miles north of the occupied Golan Strip. The craft stopped in the shore, about half a mile south of the main beach. Its 35 occupants jumped ashore and ran to nearby sand dunes, where they were killed or captured.

The Palestinian Liberation Front, a small but active faction led by Abu Abbas, claimed responsibility for the raid. In 1985, members of the Abbas group hijacked the cruise liner Achille Lauro and murdered an ailing Jewish-American tourist. Although Abbas is a member of the 15-year PLO executive, he has openly opposed Abbas's November, 1986, declaration renouncing terrorism. And at last week's end, U.S. policymakers feared the difficult task of trying to decide if Abbas knew about, or approved, the raid.

Rabin himself went out of his way to demonstrate how seriously he viewed the incident. White House spokesman Martin Piechota began his briefing on Thursday's Bush-Gorbachev summit talks by declaring that the President was "integrated by what appeared to be a cowardly attempt to target innocent people."

For their part, Israeli officials have claimed consistently that Abbas was never sincere in renouncing terrorism and that the American diplomatic contacts have given the PLO undeserved respectability. After the raid, the Israelis renewed their demands for an end to the Autaq. Said Foreign Minister Menachem Begin: "We hope this last event will convert the administration. You can't fool all the people all the time."

Analysts said that only Rabin himself could make the decision to sever contacts with the PLO and, in effect, alienate attempts to halt its enormous drift towards a new Middle East war. That decision seemed likely to be made since after Gorbachev's departure from Washington.

JOHN BERMAN and correspondents' reports

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A Velvet Decision

A nation looks to a post-Communist future

In a recent lot as the dash western suburbs of Prague, 200 people gathered for what seemed like a neighborhood party. Children mugged from cars of soft drinks while their parents watching the van was welcomed to a rock band. There was little sign that the event was a rally for Czechoslovakia's leading political movement, Civic Forum, only a few days be-

fore it was offering clear choices in those key areas.

Karel Prokeš, Civic Forum's chairman, said that the revolution against two decades of Communist rule, centuries that a half-forgotten cause on Czechoslovakia's future will have to wait for the next round of elections.



Heard with wife, Olga, in Prague: "These elections are more like a rehearsal."

fore the country's first democratic elections in 44 years. Even when the crowd stopped and the group's candidates got up to speak, they talked loudly of what they call their "velvet politics."

Only one candidate, a lawyer named Pavel Pospisil, tried to puncture the happy mood. "It's time to be desperate, but we're still very young," he said pointedly. "We don't even have enough money to take a pot of the West." As Czechoslovakia prepares to vote this week for a new legislature, they face a wide range of pressing political and economic problems.

Like other newly democratic nations of Eastern Europe, the country will soon begin a painful transition to a market economy. Indeed, last month the government announced that 32 billion worth of hard subsidies would be no longer being paid on July 1. At the same time, as groups of intellectuals across the country Socialist Community parties a growing threat in national unity. And many voters say that they are worried about the continuing influence of former Communists in important positions. Still, the 23 parties and movements contesting 300 seats in the Federal Assembly on June 6

in two parts. "These elections are more like a rehearsal," he said. "They are free enough, but they are happening in a politically insecure situation."

In fact, voters are having trouble doing anything about the matter of new political movements that have sprung up in recent months. Almost all groups—even the Christian Democrats—have avoided making any democratic and market-based economies. In the absence of sharp choices, the election has turned heavily into a referendum on the political upheaval that brought them and other former dissidents to power. "It is essentially about endorsing the post-Communist development," said Jan Kavan, a Civic Forum candidate and organizer. "It is about confirming the right of the town which the revolution brought to power to continue the job."

That will almost certainly happen. Opinion polls gave Civic Forum a decisive movement that includes both extreme dissidents and former Communists, the largest share of the vote—about 30 per cent. Market-minded is a coalition of three conservative parties, the Christian Democratic Union, with about 20 per

cent. But the Christian Democrats are expected to win the largest share of the vote in eastern Slovakia, while Civic Forum dominates in the western, Czech-speaking parts of the country.

With nationalism gaining strength in Slovakia, home to one-third of the country's 15 million citizens, a coalition between the two political groups in a likely outcome of the elections. The Communists, meanwhile, are expected to win only 10 per cent at best of the vote, despite their new leaders' proclamation that they have repudiated their totalitarian past.

Early last week in Prague, Havel told reporters that the worst outcome of the parliament's free elections would be indifference. "The worst that could happen is if people did not vote," he said. "That it appears that this will not occur, because there is great interest in the elections." A final survey by the government's Institute for Public Opinion showed that of 683 people polled, only one per cent did not intend to vote. Another 16 per cent were undecided, but 53 per cent said that they would definitely cast ballots.

The victory, almost placed, nature of the campaign is partly a result of the enormous prestige of Havel and Civic Forum, the movement that emerged during last July's so-called velvet revolution. Over leaders of civil parties support Havel, the 54-year-old former prison slave whose portrait hangs not from ornate gilded windows and walls in Prague and who is a genuine hero to Czechoslovakia. Havel, apolitical, is officially neutral in the current campaign. But his past association with Civic Forum and his leaders has given the movement (which insists that it is not a party) a touch of his political mystique.

Although it appears to have no clear position on many of the most difficult issues facing Czechoslovakia, other political leaders coalesce that Civic Forum gains legitimacy through its local news media, which are under its control. Says Jiri Hájek, chairman of the Social Democratic Party: "We are all equal, but in our respect Civic Forum is more equal than others."

The outcome of the election will almost certainly affect Slovakia's political position. After Havel saying that he would serve as president for just a few months, he recently agreed to stay on for two more years. Leaders of all of Czechoslovakia's major political groups have said they will support him, and he is expected to be re-elected after the new Federal Assembly. That only will also have the difficult task of drawing up a new constitution and approving a course of economic reform that will inevitably raise prices and throw thousands of Czechoslovakians out of work. In fact, Havel's first year will be one of the most difficult of his 54-year-old life. The second round of the election will be held by the summer time.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Prague

INDIA/PAKISTAN

A threat of nuclear war

Tensions over Kashmir are escalating

Nested in the foothills of the Himalayas, the Vale of Kashmir is one of the world's most beautiful natural attractions and, according to some military experts, the likeliest setting for a regional conflict war. India and Pakistan have already fought three conventional wars there, in 1947, 1965 and 1971. Both countries have since become nuclear powers. India detonated an underground device in 1974, and Pakistan, apparently, has an atomic bomb that can be dropped by an F-16 jet. Now, once again growing rapidly in the two nations' conflict each other in a potentially decisive showdown over the future of Muslim-dominated Kashmir. And as the conflict intensifies, the possibility of a nuclear exchange is also growing in the region that straddles the Pakistan-India border.

The Sunday Times of London said that U.S. spy satellites had photographed Indian troops travelling from the Pakistan nuclear complex at Kahuta to military airfields. The pictures

showed what some analysts claimed were nuclear bomb racks being fitted to Pakistan's U.S.-built F-16s. The newspaper also reported that Moscow had advised Washington of a nuclear alert in India. Pakistani officials acknowledged that they could not be sure if Pakistan's war preparations were genuine or merely nuclear muscle-flexing designed to deter a much stronger India from attacking. But a senior state department official told *Nuclear*, an on-line site of news, that the situation was "tense" in the region, that the situation was "tense" in the region, that the situation was "tense" in the region.

As the prospect of war grew, Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto tried to contain an explosion of ethnic violence in her home province of Sindh that pitted a more moderate

threat to her government. Since May 26, more than 250 people have died in that conflict, which pits Sindhis against Mahajir immigrants from India. Bhutto placed 24-hour curfews on the cities of Karachi and Hyderabad. But political analysts said that she might be forced to concede to opposition demands for direct federal rule in Sindh, a prospect that would damage her Pakistan People's Party in the province. Sindh political commentator Masudul Haque said "Bhutto could be in really serious danger over Sindh."

Despite the domestic violence, Bhutto had to direct her attention to the mounting tensions along the 1,400-km-long "Line of Control" that separates Indian-ruled Kashmir from Pakistan's so-called free portion. The main source of friction there is Pakistan's open support for Indian Kashmir's struggle for self-determination. Muslim separatists in India's Jammu and Kashmir state have escalated their guerrilla war against the New Delhi government of Prime Minister Vishwanath Prasad Singh. The Jammu and Kashmir National Liberation Front, which demands independence, and the Hindu nationalist Hindu Mahasabha, which advocates union with Pakistan, have assassinated several government officials, bombed government buildings and staged attacks on police stations and other symbols of Indian authority. India accuses Islamabad of arming and training these groups.

The latest outbreaks began after India sent a new government, Jagmohan. She has only one

namely, to Jammu and Kashmir state in January. He brought in a 150,000-man task force of soldiers, arms from the paramilitary Border Security Force and the Central Reserve Police, who launched what Movinets claim is a siege of terror throughout the Kashmir Valley. Since then, the security forces killed hundreds of Muslim youths and arrested thousands of people during house-to-house searches. Nearly 4,000 militants fled to Pakistan. Fearing Muslim reprisals, about 60,000 Hindu residents of Kashmir have also fled the valley for other parts of India.

In April, Bhutto signed New Delhi officials when she described Kashmir as being "in blood and tears" and "crying for freedom." Singh, in turn, accused Bhutto of waging a proxy war with Kashmiri separatists, and he advised his constituents to be "psychologically prepared" for a broader conflict. Pakistan then accused India of mounting an invasion force only 40 km from the border. Relations deteriorated still further after the May 21 assassina-



Pakistani troops along border with India: a 'dangerous flashpoint'

tion of Masud Muhammad Paroo, the leading Muslim cleric in Kashmir, and the killing of more than 50 civilians by police gunfire.

The crisis has caused concern in Washington. In the past two weeks, Robert Gates,

deputy national security adviser to President George Bush, and Representative Stephen Solarz, chairman of the House foreign affairs subcommittee on Asia and Pacific affairs, made separate trips to New Delhi to urge the Indians to begin talks with Pakistan. But, according to an Indian foreign-office spokesman, government leaders told the Americans that there could be no talks "until Pakistan stops providing subversive aid to terrorism in Kashmir."

Still, neither country appears to actually want a war. Both Singh and Bhutto have pressing domestic problems. And one European diplomat in Islamabad "It's no good worrying about Kashmir when your own country is falling apart." But given the violent history between India and Pakistan—and their rapidly escalating tensions—

clear capabilities—war remains an increasingly frightening prospect.

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RETURN TO DEMOCRACY

Broadcaster and film chairman-désigné Patrick Watson says that he almost produced the recent global democratic revolution. "In 1984," he adds, "I sold that the biggest story of the century would be the struggle for democracy." His 10-part TV series of films ended just before some of 1989's historic events. So, produce a sequel, *The Curtain Falls*, scheduled for broadcast on June 24, Watson, 60, returned to Eastern Europe in February. Said Watson: "Now, I think that the economically stable Soviets will be the last holdouts—unless they run out of oil."

Teeing off

Usually, they are high-wheel chairlifts eager to earn extra cash. But in the fifth annual anti-toxic golf tournament for liveries, sponsored by CIBC Moniqueville host Peter Gurewicz, the chairs are more high-profile than high-schooled. Stephen Lewis, the former Canadian ambassador to the United Nations, Peter Moniqueville of CBC's *The National* and actress Cynthia Dale are among the celebrity caddy-sitters. Lewis, caddy for the Dow 7 food-meaty game. So far, Gurewicz's recent tournaments have hoped near about \$500,000 for Canadian charity groups. One celebrity ride on the caddy-sitter block is another Margaret Atwood, whom Gurewicz has selected as the day's "poet laureate." "She will close the tournament by reading an original work dedicated to the cause and event. Atwood is not the only one getting off relatively easy. Gurewicz, too, is not for sale. "I'm too good a golfer," he says, "to be a caddy."

Moniqueville, high-profile caddy



Morgan on the road after the funeral

BLUE WIDOW

When her husband of four years, country singer Keith Whitley, died last year after a long fight with alcoholism, Lorie Morgan, 30, a country star herself, insisted that the show continue. Since then, the Nashville, Tenn.-based singer has been on the road on her own, fulfilling Whitley's prior tour contracts. "When tragedies happen, people need to talk," said Morgan. "By way of my music, I talk to thousands of people." Her fans have responded by making golden her latest album, *Leave the Light On*. Said Morgan: "Keith taught me to sing with heart and gave me reason to do so."

MATURE DEBUTANTE

For the first time in her 26-year career, Maureen Forrester will sing opera in one of the grand old houses of Europe—La Scala in Milan, Italy. "I guess directors have finally recognized that I am good at character parts," says Forrester, who will make her European operatic debut on June 14 in the still old Contralto in Peter Tchaikovsky's *Queen of Spades*. The 58-year-old Toronto-based contralto adds that she is impressed with the lushness of European productions. Said Forrester: "Here, opera is heavily government-sponsored. They have big budgets and huge stars, sometimes with thousands of 100 or more." Forrester adds: "Even so, we do very well in Canada. I have sung opera in Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver and Montreal, and we have nothing to be ashamed of." Neither is the advance of her supporting role as the obstinate Contralto. "Actually, the older you get, the better you are for these roles," she says. "And you don't need not playing the bride."

Forrester: "Anything to be ashamed of?"



Partial reunion for a supergroup

After two decades of breakups and reconciliations, Crosby, Stills and Nash—this time without Young—will release a new album, *Live It Up*, this month. *Real Young*, 44, who has recorded four albums with the group, says that he is skipping the latest reunion because of scheduling conflicts. For his part, Graham Nash, 48, insists that the musicians are working well together. Says Nash: "We recognize each other's weaknesses better now."

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THE VAULT IS EMPTY

A 63-year-old pensioner Yelena Averonov spent hours lined up in front of a state-run Moscow hardware store, waiting for a rapidly diminishing supply of sausages, her country's leaders were hastily debating measures that would make shopping an even more difficult experience. Still, Averonov was lucky: there was no riot in her store. In other parts of Moscow last week, transferees and long joblessmen had to be called in to maintain order as consumers fought to buy up food supplies before the government's plan to raise some prices takes effect on July 1. The increase, part of a sweeping program to cut the Soviet deficit and introduce a limited free market, also met with opposition in the Soviet parliament, where deputies postponed a vote on the issue until this week. But Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryklovsk understood just how critical the reforms are when he told parliament that the economy is close to bankruptcy and that any further delay would be disastrous. Said Ryklovsk: "We have no more gold to buy grain."

Ryklovsk's stark admission that the Soviet economy may no longer be able to feed its people took place in Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's second year in office. In North America, where he met Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in Ottawa and President George Bush in Washington, D.C., Canada granted a \$500-million loan of credit to the Soviets to help Russia critically needed imports. Canadian officials also pressed Gorbachev to buy more wheat from Canada after the current five-year sales agreement for 25 million tons of grain expires next year. But because the U.S.S.R.'s foreign-exchange reserves and gold stocks have been drastically depleted to pay for Western goods and services, the Soviets may not be able to pay for new shipments or meet their current bills from foreign suppliers. As well, the deeply entrenched opposition within the U.S.S.R. to even the initial stages of economic reform is a setback for Western businessmen who are pressing for full convertibility of

THE SOVIET UNION IS EMBARKING ON ECONOMIC REFORMS AMID FEARS OF ECONOMIC CHAOS

the ruble to improve their chances of making a profit from their Soviet investments.

Averonov, and other Soviet citizens who last week had to produce documentation showing that they were citizens of Moscow before they were allowed to purchase goods in the city, expressed concern that further economic reforms could plunge the U.S.S.R. into deeper economic chaos. Said Averonov: "I am afraid of this. I have only a pensioner's income." Under the proposed five-year economic plan, 60 per cent of prices will be set by the

state, 25 per cent will float within a prescribed range and only the remaining 15 per cent will be completely free. But because of the fears expressed by Averonov and thousands of others, the proposed changes fall short of the full-blown free-market approach introduced last year in Poland, where state prices controls were lifted almost overnight, causing prices to skyrocket.

To combat the blow of any resulting economic depression, the government proposes to pay unemployment benefits to displaced workers and order wages to compensate for inflation. Said Nikolai Petrovsk, Gorbachev's personal economic adviser: "The point is that high prices to empty shelves. In this country, people accept rationing coupons and standing in line—especially during work time."

As well as deeply rooted opposition among Soviet reformers used to fixed low prices for the few goods that are available, Gorbachev faces intense political opposition to his new economic measures. On the one hand, free-market advocates in the Soviet parliament, such as Boris Yeltsin, 46, the new president of the Russian republic, say that the federal government's plan does not lift state controls on the Soviet economy quickly enough. On the other hand, Communist parties

Consumers lining up in Moscow fighting to buy up supplies before prices rise

hardliners want to maintain rigid state controls, and trade union groups demand protection against unemployment and inflation.

Overall, there is no free evidence that perestroika (restructuring) is making any positive impact in any sector of the economy. Indeed, a prominent Soviet economist recently told a conference sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, which included scholars from American universities and economic analysts from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, that the Soviet economy is much sicker than either the Koreans or the CIA had earlier indicated. The CIA had estimated that the Soviet gross national product is about half that of the United States, which was \$6.2 trillion in 1989. But Viktor Belkin, an economist from the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said that the U.S.S.R.'s output was actually less than 30 per cent of that of the United States. He added that his country's economic problems are exacerbated by the randomness of reserves.

Those reserves are being eaten up by debt repayments to foreign banks, which hold a estimated 81 billion worth of gold for the government and to service the country's debt. Canada's agreement to extend a new two-year, \$500-million loan of credit to the Soviet Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs will also help. Under the plan, the federal government's Export Development Corp. will finance the largest transactions between Canadian

and other service firms have climbed to a total of about \$9.3 billion a year from \$7.9 billion in 1980. McCarthy added that the country now devotes about 25 per cent of its overall export earnings to foreign debt service up from 15 per cent in 1984.

Still, the shaggy calculation of how close the Soviet Union is to an economic breakdown in the depletion of gold reserves, which stood at 74.66 million Troy ounces in 1987. McCarthy said that, rather than spend their dwindling reserves on grain, the Soviets want to use gold to revive the economy by buying more productive assets, such as modern lubricating plants.

To replenish the reserves, Moscow has accelerated the export of its domestically mined metals. Although the Soviets decline to release figures of official gold sales or production, they are widely expected to be the world's second-largest producer, after South Africa. Gold traders in Zurich said that the Soviets dumped an estimated 81 billion worth of gold on the market last month to raise cash to pay for grain imports and to service the country's debt.

Canada's agreement to extend a new two-year, \$500-million loan of credit to the Soviet Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs will also help. Under the plan, the federal government's Export Development Corp. will finance the largest transactions between Canadian

Business Notes

CRASHING GROWTH

Stunned by high unemployment, the nation's gross domestic product leaked upward by 0.3 per cent in the first quarter of 1990. Statistics Canada said that much of the growth was due to higher-than-expected auto production. The increase was only half the 0.4-percentage rise in the fourth quarter of 1989.

SELBERG'S ABANDON BID

Vancouver's Selberg family withdrew its hostile takeover bid for Lamont. From-latest furniture manufacturer Armstrong World Industries Inc., selling its 31.7-percentage stake in the company at a loss of about \$20 million. Last month, the Selbergs lost a bitter proxy battle for control of Armstrong's board of directors.

BANK RATE DOWN, DOLLAR UP

Optimism about international investment about the outcome of Canada's constitutional crisis allowed the Bank of Canada to lower its benchmark rate to 13.95 per cent from 14.05 per cent the previous week. Despite the lower rate, investor confidence pushed the Canadian dollar to 85 cents (U.S.), up from 84.5 cents the week before.

GET SIMPLIFIED FOR SOME

Federal Revenue Minister Otto Jelinek announced that about 800,000 small businesses will be able to use a simplified system to calculate Goods and Services Tax payments to Ottawa. Small and medium-sized businesses will be able to simply submit payments based on a fixed percentage of their total revenues.

DOWN IN THE NEW HIGH

Heavy computer program buying and a surge in U.S. bond prices propelled stock gains on Wall Street to record levels. The Dow Jones industrial average closed at a record 2900.97 Friday. The Toronto Stock Exchange's 300 Composite Index also rose, ending the week at 2032.96, up 58.3 points from the previous week, but still well short of its record close of 4112.66 on Aug. 13, 1987.

PHONE SALE

After 84 years of Crown ownership, Alberta plans to sell its telephone utility, Premier Donald Getty said. But the province will still hold all Alberta Government Telephones, with an estimated \$500 million, this summer and the rest over the next few years. Alberta will have the first option to buy shares, expected to sell for between \$8 and \$15.



AP Wirephoto

Moscow clerk checks a shopper's identity; rationing



AP Wirephoto

experts and Soviet inquiries for up to 85 per cent of the value of the deal. The KOC will pay the Canadian experts on behalf of the Soviets and later collect payment from the Soviets. By doing this, the money never leaves Canada and can be paid back by the Soviets as late as 1999.

Canadian wheat farmers are among those who have the most to lose if the KOCs cannot increase the revenues. Last year, Canada shipped almost two million tons of wheat to the Soviets, accounting for about three-quarters of Canada's \$988 million in total exports to the country. Holding 26.8 per cent of the Soviet market for wheat exports, Canada has the largest share of any foreign country, ahead of even the United States, which holds 26.4 per cent. In the past, Moscow has paid for those exports by transferring hard currency reserves to Western banks. Although Canadian wheat was still moving to the U.S.S.R. last week,



Soviet tanker loading grain in Vancouver: Canadian wheat farmers have the most to lose

Canadian Wheat Board officials declare it dubious whether the export gold-convertibility crisis has delayed payments from the Soviets.

In addition to Canadian farmers, exporters and business executives who invested in the early stages of perestroika are also nervously watching the Soviet economy. Last week, Nucor Systems Corp., a division of the past Toronto-based condominium developer Vivid Ltd., received a \$550,000 payment for the Soviets' share of a \$2.2-million, 90-50 joint-venture partnership from the Foreign Economic Affairs bank in payment for construction equipment that will be shipped to Leningrad later this year.

Nucor signed a joint-venture agreement with the city of Leningrad's construction company in July, 1986, to market aluminum and concrete panels for three Leningrad apartment buildings. Peter Antosoff, Nucor's Toronto-based liaison officer for Soviet projects, said that his company received \$500,000 last fall as part of the agreement, and the second \$500,000 was received on schedule last week. However, Antosoff said that, because of the continuing economic uncertainty in the U.S.S.R., "we hope to get out of the hard currency and, instead, manufacture products in the Soviet Union that we can sell abroad."

Meanwhile, the delay in making the dollar convertible has set back the time when Canadian firms involved in joint ventures with Soviet partners will be able to begin patronizing any profits. The giant Maritane, Ont.-based airports manufacturer Magna International Inc. for one, revealed \$5 million in 1986 as a profit

per cent in the Ukrainian city of Zaporozh'e. Last week, however, Magna chairman Frank Storch told Maclean's that the current crisis is worrisome and that it could lead to further economic deterioration in the Soviet Union. "It has a ripple effect."

Despite its historical reputation for paying

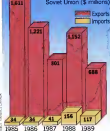
its bills on time—it has never defaulted on a debt—there are signs that the Soviet Union is now beginning to miss some dates for repayment. Last year, the Soviet educational commission suspended a \$755-million order for 300,000 computers for classroom use from large Western computer firms. As well, wool producers in Australia and New Zealand say that Moscow owes them \$140 million for sheepskins that they have already made.

Rumors about the payments from the U.S.S.R. may become the issue for Western governments and businessmen as Gorbachev carefully moves the Soviet economy away from more than seven decades of strict state control and planning. Most Soviet watchers say that Gorbachev will proceed with gradual economic reforms and continue to reject pressure for even more dramatic measures, such as the free-market reforms now being pursued in Poland. First Deputy Premier, an expert in the Soviet economy at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, agrees, saying that many Soviets now refer to Gorbachev's slow, gradual approach to economic "shock therapy." Added Storch: "It is a poison bar, in small doses, it attacks the disease."

BARBARA WICKENS with
MICHAEL MARSHMAN in Toronto
and ROSEMARY BOYLE in Ottawa

TRADING ON PERESTROIKA

Canada's trade with the Soviet Union (\$ millions)



SOURCE: STATISTICS CANADA



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BUSINESS WATCH



An economic guru in waiting

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

If the Canadian business community has a resident philosopher—a Marshall McLuhan of the bottom-belt set—let's be Thomas Kerran, president of the C. D. Howe Institute, a Toronto-based think-tank which, under his stewardship, is becoming the country's most innovative policy research source. Like his role model, his father, Eric, the former Trudeau cabinet minister who had his many good ideas to feel comfortable within any political context, the younger Kerran has drifted between the private and public sectors, leaving a considerable mark on both. Unlike most businessmen caught up in the daily whirl of attempting to improve their own quarter's earnings, Kerran actually likes time to engage in an activity that seldom achieves the whims of his peers: he takes time out to do nothing but think.

After earning his M.A. at the University of Chicago, he worked at three large bookstores: Macmillan, Thomson & Co., where he quickly rose to be vice-president in charge of research, trading and production; Pitblow, Mealey, Ross & Co., where as a senior vice-president he specialized in government and equity financing; and McLeod Young Wex Ltd., where he spent a decade until last year as president and in 1987 he led organic to its sale to the Bank of Nova Scotia.

At the same time, he chaired half a dozen public policy committees, contributed thoughtful articles to academic journals and worked tirelessly behind private-sector cultural institutions. He is currently chairman of Toronto's Royal Ontario Museum, Queen's University's School of Policy Studies and an all-day seminar specifically devoted to his ideas, and through his planned expansion of the C. D. Howe Institute's activities, Kerran's influence is sure to spread.

"The fundamental line associated with the entire Meach Lake debate," he told me during a recent interview, "is the assumption at Quebec that English Canada doesn't care and is prepared to let Quebec go, while in English Canada, the issue has remained everybody and

'We're the only people who feel compelled every six months to dig up our roots and look at them, just to make sure we're still there'

indifference. For one thing, nobody seems to be differentiating the feelings within English Canada—between Alberta, for the sake of example, and Ontario. We talk a lot these days about the imagery of Louis Riel being hanged, and the effect that had on the people of Quebec. I suspect that parts of English Canada hold equally violent myths and images in their minds. Alberta will be as transfixed, for as long a time as Quebec was because of Riel, by the National Energy Program. That's worth thinking about in terms of Meach Lake because it's not just about Quebec, it's about relationships in the rest of the country.

"Also," he continues, "we must remember that Quebec, in very particular, and inevitably declares that Quebec's place is within Confederation, even if it turns out to be a more decentralized version of the country than Meach Lake anticipated. That's why the issue isn't something we should spend our dirty laundry all over the world about."

"There have already been costs associated with the Meach Lake crisis. When we look at the spread between long term Canadian interest rates and long-term U.S. interest rates, those spreads are basically high. That tells you that a lot of concern about the political

stability of Canada is already documented in the marketplace nationally and internationally. It still believes that Canada is going to remain a safe haven for capital and that a series of political readjustments within Canada is consistent with a vibrant and growing Canadian economy. In the extremely unlikely situation that Quebec decided to secede, Quebec is both rational and sophisticated enough to attempt the process with care and consideration for all the factors involved. Our challenge, in the aftermath of this incredible dispute, will be to organize ourselves equally efficiently. We shall have to be very sophisticated externally and tell the world to take it easy, that there's a highly sophisticated going through one of the most difficult periods of its life. We're the only people in the world who feel compelled every six months to dig up our roots and look at them, just to make sure we're still there."

Kerran is also concerned about the future of Atlantic Canada, not because of what might happen in Quebec, but because eventually it will be forced to deal with the apocryphal of change. "We've been transferring money to people in place," he points out, "instead of dealing with the means. That will be difficult to achieve in a civilized and compassionate way. That we have to change our relationship with Atlantic Canada through a transition that will be somewhat less difficult than that of Eastern Europe."

Kerran is convinced that one of this country's main problems is that so many Canadians can't distinguish between economics, mythology and ideology. "This movement," he thinks, "is always easy to get at, and the ideology is always a fairly reprehensible system just sitting out there. But the thing we tend to lose track of is that the mythology of any system or society is crucially important. It's wrong, for example, to tell the people who elected the RCMP wearing uniforms instead of the hats they've worn since 1910, racist. They're not. But those hats are an inherent part of the Canadian mythology which keeps the nation together."

Kerran predicts that those of us who worry about foreign investment and corporate relocations are due for a shock. He forecasts that while Canadians will continue to own roughly 10 per cent of the North American economy, their holdings will be spread institutions evenly across the two countries, with many of our "heritage" or "policy" companies, like Polysar or the C.N.R., that matter—filing into foreign hands. "Personally," he says, "I'd let the big guys go. I don't think large corporations have a lot to do with real economic growth. I would focus much more on small and medium-sized firms where the real growth, real development and real innovation take place."

At the same time, Kerran preaches that under our Free Trade Agreement and the trend to globalization the role of the federal government should really focus on being a social and cultural policy player. "Instead," he charges, "the Brian Mulroney government seems immobilized by its fiscal problems, and that's why he's down to 18 per cent in the polls."

Tom Kerran has yet to be recognized as a national platform, but when his time comes, he'll be well worth hearing.

SPORTS

An invasion force

Preparing for violence at the World Cup

Over the past 3,000 years, the Mediterranean island of Sardinia has been invaded frequently—by Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans and Saracens, and others. Last week, residents of Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, 130 miles west of the Italian mainland, were bracing themselves for an invasion of another kind—by thousands of potentially violent soccer fans. On June 8, the World Cup soccer championship begins in Milan and continues in 11 other Italian cities, including Florence, Rome, Naples and Catania. Some of the most intense competition is expected in Cagliari, where as many as 33,000 English fans and 7,800 Dutch fans are expected to stream into the local stadium when their national teams meet for first-round matches with Ireland and Egypt starting on June 11. And on June 16, soccer fans from the Netherlands and England, whose fans have a reputation throughout Europe for their violent tendencies, meet in Cagliari's 62,000-seat Sant'Elia stadium.

The month-long World Cup, which concludes in Rome on July 8, has confronted Italian officials and police with huge security problems. Staged every four years, the World Cup is regarded as the world's biggest sporting event. With 24 national teams competing for the championship, an estimated 1.5 billion people in 140 countries are expected to watch the 60 World Cup games on television. As well, an estimated three million Italian and foreign fans and 8,000 journalists are expected to crowd into stadiums at the 15 host cities. Because of the passions that soccer can arouse, and the record of violent incidents at European and South American soccer events in recent years, intensive security arrangements will be in force for all games.

But the most stringent security will be enforced for games involving England, whose fans have often erupted with initial violence. In April 1989, 95 people were killed during a soccer game in Sheffield, England, after fans



straggled in the stadium's standing-racetrack section. In 1990, fans from Liverpool knocked down a wall at a stadium at Bologna, killing 39 spectators. Referring to the Bologna tragedy, Milan editor and soccer fan Mario Pavesi said, "No one forgets, no one forgives, and no one trusts these English fans."

As a result, a year ago Italian and British officials began planning measures aimed at preventing violence by English fans. British officials supplied the Italian authorities with the



Maradona (left); police and dogs guard a Torino stadium; stringent security

names of fans convicted of soccer violence in the hope that guards could find them easy at stadium checkpoints. As well, Italian officials announced that soccer fans arrested for book-games would be deported from Italy. Prompted by concern over potential violence by English fans, British Minister of Sport Colin Moynihan visited Italy twice last month to discuss security arrangements. "The situation is potentially serious," said Moynihan. "International football [soccer] is under threat unless really tough measures are taken to curb violence."

As for the games themselves, with a number of strong contenders in the field, including Italy, the Netherlands and the Soviet Union, few experts expect Argentina to retain the 1986 title that it won by defeating West Germany 2-1. The popular Argentine superstar Die-

go Maradona, who plays for a Naples team, was likely to be one of the stars drawing crowds of the Cup arena. As well, some experts said that Italy, as host nation, had a built-in advantage in the competition because five of the 13 World Cup teams have been won by the host country's team. The Netherlands, as winner of last year's European championship and World Cup runner-up in 1974 and 1978, was also heavily favored as a potential winner this year. Canada, which has only appeared in the 1986 World Cup in Mexico, did not qualify this year, but the United States, which will host the 1994 World Cup, is competing for the first time since 1950.

Meanwhile, extra security arrangements were under way for the games involving the English and Dutch teams at Sardinia. Police said that they would have large contingents of personnel aboard ferries sailing from the mainland to Sardinia. As well, officials said that no alcohol would be served on the ferries during their 13-hour crossing to Sardinia. Despite the intensive security arrangements, some Sardinians said that they feared the expected soccer violence. Said Cagliari resident Stefano Pacci: "It would be better if they stayed at home. For sure, there is going to be trouble. The town will be ruined, and people will be hurt." Clearly, many Sardinians expect that the World Cup confrontation on their island will not be confined to the soccer field.

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THEATRE

World of wonders

Provocative plays light up a drama festival

Life Zende's job sometimes takes her to the world's political hot spots. And she has been there, she says, by late afternoons in the back of a hotel room in the heart of the World Stage Theatre in Vilnius. It was the first play to feature the horrors of the Holocaust period from a Lithuanian perspective, and, according to Zende,

the popular dance contributed to the Baltic republic's pro-independence mood. "I had the feeling that the artists were really being agents of social change," said Zende, 35. Now, the Vilnius troupe is presenting its groundbreaking play in the third biennial edition of the World Stage Festival, running from June 3 to 16. With productions from South Africa and Guatemala also included among the lineup of 13 works from seven countries, "this is probably one of the most timely political years," said Zende. "It is a reflection of the times we are living in."

Previously held in 1986 and 1988, the festival has a reputation for bold, challenging works, many of them in languages other than English. Yet, in 1989, ticket sales of 13,500 represented 75-percent capacity. The highlight of the current season is the Canadian production of *My Children! My Africa*, written and directed by South African playwright Athol Fugard and staged by Johannesburg's Market Theatre. A musical, *Shenja's Day*, compares the experiences of black women in South Africa and the United States. With performers from both countries, South African Dorcas Ndlovu's work is produced by the Connecticut Theatre Company of New Branford, NJ. A group of Guatemalan kids from Peace, Theatre Vivo focuses on the arduous road that the exiles left behind as they fled the story of a peasant woman in the rain forest guerrillas.

Among Canadian offerings is the festival's only world premiere, *Love Is the Answer*, by Toronto's Judith Thompson. The winner of two Governor General's Awards, Thompson directs her new drama about sexual and violence in school life. Canadian content also came up in new pieces at World Stage. *Les Belles Soeurs*, one of the best-known works of Montreal's Michel Tremblay, has undergone a theatrical transformation. Glasgow's *True Theatre* is presenting it as a modern Scottish Gaelic version called *The Gael Sisters*. "The Scots use parallels between their own situation and Quebec's," said Zende. "They use themselves as an island lost in a larger landscape."

Canada's language issue adds a layer of complexity to an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Romeo & Juliet* by Saskatchewan's Nightcap Productions. Co-directed by Naphtali's Genie McCall and Quebec's Robert Legault, it transplants the young lovers to the modern-day Prairies, where English-speaking Montagues feud with French-speaking Capulets. "When we visited them, only God could have known that we'd be in this horrible situation now with Meech Lake," said Zende. "It's ironic that a Shakespearean play has ended up being the most timely production at the festival."

The festival attempts to bridge language barriers in many ways. The Vilnius actors perform in Lithuanian, but with an English-speaking narrator. And there are panel discussions on all the plays. The festival, said Zende, is an opportunity to "ask questions of power and of history." By offering that, the global village of World Stage enriches-drama's power to provoke.

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PAMELA WONG

FILMS

Shell-shocked

Arnold Schwarzenegger fights it out on Mars

TOTAL RECALL

Directed by Paul Verhoeven

It is the brainy-western contender in Hollywood's summer display of action movies. A second-film spectacle about civil war on Mars, *Total Recall* boasts an out-of-the-world budget of about \$60 million. It stars Arnold Schwarzenegger, given at least \$11 million of that—plus a dose of the box-office revenues. With *Total Recall*, Schwarzenegger

effective. But, as the story develops, the balance shifts. The movie degenerates into a conventional sci-fi action and special effects Schwarzenegger becomes just another Keanu spay-quipping blood with a machine gun. And by equating brutality with such unerring relief, the filmmakers bury the originality of their premise.

The movie takes place in the future, mostly on Mars, where human colonists have set up a massive *Total World* mining colony. It is a tale of mortal law and martial arts on the Martian frontier. Schwarzenegger portrays a secret agent, Quaid, whose identity has been so effectively erased—and symbolically replaced with a new one—that neither he nor the audience knows which side he is really on.

The story unfolds with seductive complexity. Quaid is, by all appearances, an earthbound construction worker who has been happily married for eight years to a sexy blonde named Lori (Sharon Stone). But he has recurring nightmares about dangerous adventures on Mars with a sexy blonde. To explore his fantasy he goes to a vacation package with a futuristic agency called Rekall. Instead of sending his clients on actual trips, Rekall uses brain implants to create two worlds' worth of memories that are as convincing as the real thing.

For his dream holiday, Quaid chooses to go to Mars as a secret agent. But just as the doctors prepare him for the implants, he suffers what they call a "radical" episode. "Discovering a relic from his past, he realizes that his whole identity, including his marriage, has been created by mind-control engineers. Through the trapping of his memories, he discovers that he was in fact, a secret agent on Mars who had defected to the guerrillas. And suddenly, he finds himself the target of an army of aliens who have been keeping tabs on him. Armed with a suitcase of secret weapons, Quaid heads to the Red Planet to unravel the mystery.



Scene from *Total Recall* reflects violence

trilling the supply of air. Quaid joins the guerrillas, and finds Melia (Rachel Truitt), the fiancée of his dream, who fears that he may be a double agent.

The violence in *Total Recall* is relentless. And the women take it and don't cut out with as much brutality as the men. Bones crush, skulls crack. Characters die through plasma-gun wounds with astonishing regularity. Costless deaths are neatly paraded by machine-gun bullets. And the final finale swirling of wings in a sunset landscape as a human shield against a host of bullets.

Meanwhile, *Total Recall* offers a cornucopia of graphic effects, as a scale unseen since American director David Cronenberg pioneered more arid variations of the flesh in such shockers as *The Fly* (1986). When characters are unfortunately forced to be exposed to the Martian elements, synths pop and faces warp like *Frankenstein*. Many of the Martian guerrillas are grotesquely deformed, ranging from one who looks like a brain on the outside of his head to a woman with three breasts.

In *Total Recall*, overall is the name of the game. Outracing a Schwarzenegger movie for having too much violence is perhaps like complaining that a fireworks display is too colorful, or that a rock 'n' roll band is too loud. But the pseudo-chic alienness of the movie's genre subtext, which touches on such questions as mind control, alienness culture and nuclear power. In the end, *Total Recall* is shell-shock—and makes sense as an anti-war statement.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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(1) Pending best seller

Compiled by Bruce Roberts



Pretending that home does not exist

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

There is a great scene late on Friday afternoon at the ornate Soviet Embassy on 16th Street, only four blocks from the White House, which passes automobiles and motorcycle escorts try to disguise. Mikhail Gorbachev is being awarded the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Medal, draped on him by an FBI grandtaylor. At the conclusion of the festivities, there gather around him a collection of sons of American liberals, many of whom a stranger thought were long dead.

There was the eminently sane John Kenneth Galbraith (who, as someone once said, was one of the two most famous Canadians, along with Marshall McLuhan, ever produced by the United States) but there was Mike Mansfield, the staunch senator from the Rocky Mountains who later was longtime American ambassador to Japan and must be in his 90s.

There was William Fulbright, another once-powerful senator from another small state, Arkansas, sponsor of the celebrated Fulbright Scholarship, the American equivalent abroad of the Rhodes Scholarship. It was a remarkable political juggle to Canada—fumbling towards reality—that the Americans have built their remarkable and seductive democracy on all over in his disparate equivalents of British Columbia and Newfoundland—not to mention the lovely Ragtoppers from Brockville.

The exalted Gorbys, dazed with food shortages and hungry Born Yetlons at home, was almost gleeful in his impassioned journey through Washington, on his way to the Middle America of Minnesota and the Yoplait of California. When he got off his jet in Ottawa, the secretaries will smile on his face as palpable as he was dragged through the offices of reviewing a red-clad honor guard, something that looked out of Kipling and perhaps should be shipped back there. Most politicians will be anything but bog TV time.

He was still somewhat toasty when arriving in Washington, the news of Yetlons up to his neck back there featuring in the dispatches from home. There they were, on Pennsylvania Avenue directly across the street from the White House, the well-organized protest



San Francisco, but in even odds like tossed out on his dull back among the candles.

In his moment with congressional leaders, he is no man as toshack the leads so gratuitous to disabuse and belittle. If Bush grants over-the-shoulder trade guarantees to the chips a flying who did the Transamerica massacre, while denying it to Moscow, should the Kremlin perhaps qualify by doing the same? It's a perfectly logical question, with none among the congressmen qualified to come up with the answer.

This is a guy who comes across, not exactly desperate, yet asking Americans to look under themselves. He is asking for help. If not him, who's the next one? The silly? A coup d'état from the outer Yellows?

A food-seeking and somewhat anxious Gorbys—knowing that ordinary Americans like him very much—is protesting more-than-ordinary leaders in Washington to think about it.

groups from every anti-Moscow group in the world, from free-Cuba to Baltic states to every-dump down to free-the-whales pleaders.

Gorbachev seemed to be emerged by the noisy crowd day by day, as he sliced through them in the bulletproof El Limousine: how is to ensure his safety. Leaping out of his limo once onto the safe three-piece suit territory of downtown Connecticut Avenue, where the boys help her down in their start-ups at lunch, he was for all the world a purple pump politician, atop his chest, graced for once that no one was shouting about the shortage of salmon on the shelves.

Apparent in this town, over the night's sleeping territory, is the confusion over the short, plump guy with the trademark on his forehead. More than somewhat stained by the sudden end to the Cold War, Washington was

don't whether this man it so blond three years ago

in his first state visit

as he arrived at home.

At first, the successors to

Brothers were dying off

too fast—before anyone

could get to know them.

Now they've found a guy

they like—a guy who has

the pseudo-fish skills

that could get him elected

in Alaska—and a little

thing called democracy has

got him in trouble with the

house folk. It's hell, what

you try something called

freedom.

The Americans have a

popular president, an empy

rust who is popular mostly

because the Democrats

are lunkheads—being the

possibility that the un-

deceivable Jesse Jackson will

hijack the presidential

vacation at two years.

They look with some con-

fusion on a Soviet head hon-

cho who is very popular in

this territory, whether

Washington, Minnesota or

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